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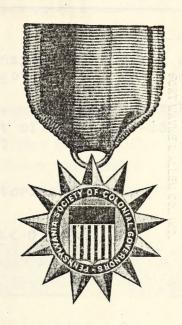






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# Pennsylvania Society of Colonial Governors



Volume 1

PHILADELPHIA 1916

# Pennsylbania Society of Colonial Governors



Volume 1

PHILADELPHIA 1916

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by John Redman Coxe.....

PROMES RECORD, ACTING GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND, 1715.

PRESS OF
ALLEN, LANE & SCOTT,
PHILADELPHIA.

No.

## Committee on Bublication

JOSEPH INGERSOLL DORAN EDWIN SWIPT BALCH HDWIN JAQUETT SELLERS

# 8315

# Contents

	PAGE
Officers	5
Members	. 6
Charter	13
By-Laws	18
COLONIAL GOVERNORS, by George Douglas Hay and Edwin Jaquett Sellers	23
Addresses:	
THE CALVERTS, LORDS BALTIMORE AND PROPRIETORS OF MARYLAND, by Samuel Davis Page	45
SIR WALTER RALEIGH, CHIEF GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA AND FOUNDER OF ROANOKE COLONY, 1585, by Joseph Ingersoll Doran	52
JEAN PAUL JAQUET, VICE DIRECTOR AND CHIEF MAGISTRATE ON THE SOUTH RIVER OF NEW NETHERLAND, 1655–1657, by Edwin Jaquett Sellers	73
Edward Shippen, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, 1703-4, by Robert Hare Davis	98
Jonathan Law, Governor of Connecticut, 1742-1751, by Ernest Law.	103
Samuel Carpenter, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, 1694–98, by Henry Morris, M.D	III
Edward Lloyd, Major General, Governor of Maryland, 1709-14, by George McCall	125
Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, 1684–88, 1690–93, by George Quintard Horwitz	132
Alexander Spotswood, Major General, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, 1710-23, by Carter Berkeley Taylor	139
Daniel Coxe, M.D., Governor of West Jersey, 1687-92, by John Redman Coxe	150
John Alden, Acting Governor of Plymouth Colony, 1664-5, 1677, by Elihu Spencer Miller	155
ROBERT BROOKE, ACTING GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND, 1652, by Edwin Swift Balch	161
THOMAS BROOKE, ACTING GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND, 1720, by Edwin Swift Balch	161
EDWIN SHIPPEN, DEPUTY GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1703-4, by Edwin Swift Balch	161

# 8315

# Contents

	Menuses
	By-Laws
	COLONIAL GOVERNORS, by George Bouglas Hay and Edwin Jaquett Sellers.
4.5	THE CALVERTS, LORDS BALTHIORE AND PROPRIETORS OF MARYLAND, by Semuel Bayls Page.
	SIR WARTER RALEICH, CHIEF GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA AND FOUNDER OF ROAMORE COLONY, 1585, by Joseph Ingersoll Doma.
	JEAN PAUL JAQUET, VICE DIRECTOR AND CHIEF MAGISTRATE ON THE SOUTH RIVER OF NEW NETHERLAND, 1655-1657, by Edwin Jaquett Selfer.
	Table of the part time parts
	THOMAS LLOYD, DEFUTY COVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1684-88, 1690-93, by George Quintard Horwitz
	GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, 1710-23, by Carter Berkeley Taylor Daniel Coxe, M.D., Governor of West Jessey, 2657-02,
	ROBERT BROOME, ACTING GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND, 1652,

	PAGE
DANIEL COXE, M.D., GOVERNOR OF WEST JERSEY, 1687-92, by Henry Brinton Coxe	169
Samuel Carpenter, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, 1694–98, by Stacy Barcroft Lloyd	177
ROGER WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT OF RHODE ISLAND, 1654-57, by Samuel Davis Page	184
SIR GEORGE YEARDLEY, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, 1619–21, 1626–27, by Joseph Ingersoll Doran	207
JACOB LEISLER, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, 1689-91, by Edward Fenno Hoffman	239
WILLIAM NELSON, ACTING GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, 1770-71, by Samuel Davis Page	271
THOMAS LEE, ACTING GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, 1749-50, by Edmund Jennings Lee, M.D	279
COLONIAL TIMES, by Sydney George Fisher	286
Johan Printz, Governor of New Sweden, 1643-53, by Thomas Willing Balch	292
WILLIAM PYNCHON, DEPUTY GOVERNOR ON THE CONNECTICUT RIVER, 1635–36, by John Lyman Cox	
ROBERT CARTER, ACTING GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, 1726–27, by Carter Berkeley Taylor	

	DANIEL COXE, M.D., GOVERNOR OF WEST JERSEY, 1687-92, by Henry Brinton Coxe.
	RODER WHILIAMS, PRESIDENT OF RHODE ISLAND, 1654-57, by Samuel Davis Page
	Siz Grorge Yeardley, Governor of Virginia, 1619-21, 1626-27, by Joseph Ingersoll Doran.
	Jacon Leisten, Lieutenant Governon of New York, 1680-01, by Edward Fenno Hoffman.
	WILLIAM NELSON, ACTING GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, 1770-71, by Sminel Davis Page
	Thomas Lee, Acting Governor or Virginia, 1749-50, by Edmund Jonnings Lee, M.D.
885	Conomia Times, by Sydney George Fisher
292	JOHAN PRINTZ, GOVERNOR OF NEW SWEDEN, 1643-53, by Thomas Willing Balch
	William Pynomon, Deputy Governor on the Connecticut River, 1935-35, by John Lyman Cox
	Romert Capter, Active Goverson of Vironit, 1726-27, by Carter Bereley Taylor

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Henry Smith, Commissioner to govern on the Connecticut River, 1635-1636.

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1505 Spruce Street

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Robert Brooke, Acting Governor of Maryland, 1652.
Thomas Brooke, Acting Governor of Maryland, 1720.
Edward Shippen, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania,
1703-1704.

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The Munhattan Club, New York.

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Heary Smith, Commissioner to govern on the Connecticut River, 1635-1636. Thomas Welles, Deputy Governor of Connecticut, 1654, 1656–1658, 1659, Governor, 1655, 1658.

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Coxe, John Redman

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Daniel Coxe, Governor of West Jersey, 1687-1692.

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Daniel Coxe, Governor of West Jersey, 1687-1602.

COXE, WILLIAM GIUSCOM

1005 Broome Street, Wilnungton, Del.

Descendant of

Daniel Coxe, Governor of West Jersey, 1687-1692.

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Descendant of

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Descendant of

Sir George Yeardley, Covernor of Virginia, 1619-1621, 1626-1627.

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237 South Eighteenth Street.

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John Haynes, Governor of Connecticut, 1639, and alternate years to 1653.

George Wyllis, Governor of Connecticut, 1642.

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Simon Bradstreet, Deputy Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1678–1679; Governor, 1679–1686. Thomas Dudley, Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1634, 1640, 1645, 1650; Deputy Governor, 1630–1634, 1637–1640, 1646–1650, 1651–1653.

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William Bradford, Governor of Plymouth Colony, 1621-1623, 1635, 1637, 1639-1644, 1645-1657.

William Bradford, Jr., Deputy Governor of Plymouth

Thomas Dudley, Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1634, 1640, 1645, 1650; Deputy Governor, 1630–1634, 1637–1640, 1646–1650, 1651–1653.

John Haynes, Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1635, and of Connecticut Colony, 1639, 1640, 1641, 1644, 1646, 1650, 1652.

William Pitlan, Governor of Connecticut Colony, 1766-1769; Deputy Governor, 1754-1766.

George Wyllis, Governor of Connecticut Colony, 1642; Deputy Governor, 1641.

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John Haynes, Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1635; Governor of Connecticut Colony, 1639–1641, 1644, 1646, 1650, 1652.

George Wyllis, Governor of Connecticut Colony, 1642; Deputy Governor, 1641.

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John Haynes, Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1635; Governor of Connecticut Colony, 1639-1641, 1644, 1646, 1650, 1652.

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Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, 1684-1688, 1690-1693.

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The Gladstone.

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Meios, Samuel Emilen 1814 Chestnut Street.

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The Gladstone.

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Edward Lloyd, Acting Covernor of Maryland, 1709-1714

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Norris, Joseph Parker, Jr. 2122 Pine Street.

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John Greene, Deputy Governor of Rhode Island, 1690–1700.

William Nelson, Governor of Virginia, 1770-1771.

Edward Shippen, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, 1703–1704.

Roger Williams, President of Rhode Island, 1654-1657.

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Descendant of

Samuel Carpenter, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, 1694–1698.

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Descendant of

Samuel Carpenter, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, 1694–1698.

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2129 Pine Street.

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Robert Carter, Acting Governor of Virginia, 1726–1727. Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, 1710–1722.

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1313 Locust Street.

Descendant of

John Alden, Governor pro tempore of Plymouth Colony, 1664-1665, 1677.

Robert Carter, Acting Governor of Virginia, 1720-1727

John Greene, Deputy Covernor of Rhode Island, 16901720.

William Nelson, Governor of Virginia, 1770-1771.
Edward Shippen, Deputy Governor of Penusylvania,
1703-1704.

Roger Williams, President of Rhode Island, 1654-1657.

#### SCOTT, ALEXANDER HARVEY,

1806 South Rittenhouse Square.

Descendant of

Samuel Carpenter, Deputy Governor of Ponnsylvania, 1694-1698.

Scorr, John Mohin 118 South Eighteenth Street.

Descendant of

Samuel Carpenter, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, 1694-1698.

Scorr, Lewis Allaire 1806 South Rittenhouse Square.

Samuel Carpenter, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, 1694-1698.

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TAYLOR, CARTER BERKELEY 2129 Pine Street.

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Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia,
1710-1722.

Tower, Charlemanne 1313 Locust Street.

Desendant of

John Alden, Governor pro tempore of Phymouth Colony, 1664-1665, 1672.

#### TURNER, CHARLES HENRY BLOCK, REV.

59 Mary Street, Waycross, Ga.

Descendant of

Jean Paul Jaquet, Vice-Director and Chief Magistrate on the Southriver of New Netherland, 1655–1657.

#### WALBRIDGE, CHARLES CARTER

8208 Seminole Avenue, Chestnut Hill.

Descendant of

John Haynes, Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1635; Governor of Connecticut Colony, 1639–1641, 1644, 1646, 1650, 1652.

Thomas Welles, Deputy Governor of Connecticut, 1654, 1656–1658, 1659; Governor, 1655, 1658.

#### WHARTON, HENRY

Chestnut Hill.

Descendant of

John Coggeshall, President of Rhode Island, 1647–1648. John Coggeshall, Jr., Deputy Governor of Rhode Island, 1686, 1689–1690.

Samuel Carpenter, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, 1694–1698.

William Brenton, Deputy Governor of Aquedneck, 1640–1647; President of Rhode Island, 1660–1662; Governor, 1666–1669.

Jeremiah Clarke, President, Regent of Rhode Island, 1648. Walter Clarke, Governor of Rhode Island, 1676–1677, 1686, 1696–1698.

TURNER, CHARLES HENRY BLOCK, REV.

59 Mary Street, Wayeross, Ga.

Descendant of

Joan Paul Jaquet, Vice-Director and Chief Magistrate on the Southriver of New Netherland, 1055-1659.

WALBRIDGE, CHARLES CARTER

8208 Seminole Avenue, Chestnut Hill.

Descendant of

John Haynes, Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1635; Governor of Connecticut Colony, 1659-1641, 1644, 1646, 1650, 1648.

Thomas Welles, Deputy Covernor of Connecticut, 1654, 1656-1658, 1659; Governor, 1656, 1658

#### WHARTON, HENRY

Chestnut Hill.

John Coggeshall, President of Rhode Island, 1647-1648

1686, 1689-1690

Samuel Carpenter, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, 1694-7698.

William Brenton, Deputy Governor of Aquedneck, 1640-1647; President of Rhode Island, 1660-1662; Governor, 1666-1660

Jereminh Clarke, President, Regent of Rhode Island, 1648. Walter Clarke, Governor of Rhode Island, 1676-1677, 1686, 1696-1698.

# Charter of Pennsylvania Society of Colonial Governors

IN THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS, No. 4, FOR THE COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA.

Of June Term, 1910. No. 1237.

Be it Known, that the subscribers, citizens of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, having associated themselves together for the purpose of organizing the "Pennsylvania Society of Colonial Governors," and being desirous of becoming incorporated agreeably to the provisions of the Act of Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, entitled "An Act to provide for the Incorporation and Regulation of certain Corporations," approved the Twenty-ninth day of April, A. D. 1874, and its supplements, do hereby declare, set forth and certify that the following are the purposes, objects, articles and conditions of their said association for and upon which they desire to be incorporated.

First. The name of the corporation shall be "Penn-sylvania Society of Colonial Governors."

Second. The purpose for which the corporation is formed is to promote interest in the history of the settlement and government of the American Colonies and the establishment of their Independence.

## Charter

30

# Pennsylvania Society

### Colonial Governors

IN THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS, No. 4, FOR THE COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA.

#### Of June Term, 1910. No. 1257.

Bu it Known, that the subscribers, citizens of the Commonwealth of Penusylvania, having associated themselves together for the purpose of organizing the "Penusylvania Society of Colonial Governors," and being desirous of becoming incorporated agreeably to the provisions of the Act of Assembly of the Commonwealth of Penusylvania, entitled "An Act to provide for the Incorporation and Regulation of certain Corporations," approved the Twenty-ninth day of April, A. D. 1894, and its supplements, do hereby declare, set forth and certify that the following are the purposes, objects, articles and conditions of their said association for and upon which they desire to be incorporated.

First. The name of the corporation shall be "PENN-SYLVANIA SOCIETY OF COLONIAL GOVERNORS."

Second. The purpose for which the corporation is formed is to promote interest in the history of the settlement and government of the American Colonies and the establishment of their Independence.

Third. The place where the business of the said corporation is to be transacted is in the City of Philadelphia, State of Pennsylvania.

Fourth. The corporation shall have perpetual succession by its corporate name.

Fifth. The names and residences of subscribers are as follows:

Samuel Davis Page, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia.

Joseph Ingersoll Doran, 120 South Nineteenth Street, Philadelphia.

Edwin Jaquett Sellers, 1830 Pine Street, Philadelphia.

William Innes Forbes, 1336 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

Ernest Law, St. Davids, Pennsylvania.

Henry Morris, M.D., 313 South Sixteenth Street, Philadelphia.

George McCall, 1106 Spruce Street, Philadelphia.

Thomas Willing Balch, 1412 Spruce Street, Philadelphia.

John Redman Coxe, 1314 Pine Street, Philadelphia.

Carter Berkeley Taylor, 2129 Pine Street, Philadelphia.

Elihu Spencer Miller, 312 South Tenth Street, Philadelphia.

Edwin Swift Balch, 1412 Spruce Street, Philadelphia.

George Quintard Horwitz, Strafford, Pennsylvania.

Sydney Emlen Hutchinson, 1718 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

Henry Brinton Coxe, 109 South Twenty-first Street, Philadelphia.

Third. The place where the business of the said corporation is to be transacted is in the City of Philadelphia, State of Pennsylvania.

Fourth. The corporation shall have perpetual succession by its corporate name.

Fifth. The names and residences of subscribers are as follows:

Samuel Davis Page, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia.

Joseph Ingersoll Doran, 120 South Nineteenth Street, Philadelphia.

Edwin Jaquett Sellers, 1830 Pine Street, Philadelphia.

William Innes Forbes, 1330 Walnut Street, Philalelphia

Brnest Law, St. Davids, Pennsylvania.

Henry Morris, M.D., 373 South Sixteenth Street, Philadelphia.

George McCall, 1106 Spruce Street, Philadelphia.

Thomas Willing Balch, 1412 Spruce Street, Philadelphia.

John Redman Coxe, 1314 Pine Street, Philadelphia.

Carter Berkeley Taylor, 2129 Pine Street, Philadelphia.

Elihu Spencer Miller, 312 South Tenth Street, Philadelphia.

Edwin Swift Balch, 1412 Spruce Street, Philadelphia.

George Quintard Horwitz, Strafford, Pennsylvania.

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Henry Brinton Coxe, 109 South Twenty-first Street, Philadelphia. Sixth. The officers of the corporation shall be a Governor, a Deputy Governor, a Secretary, a Treasurer, who, together with eleven Councillors, shall compose the Council, and the names and residences of the Officers and Councillors chosen for the ensuing year are:

Governor, Samuel Davis Page, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia.

Deputy Governor, Joseph Ingersoll Doran, 120 South Nineteenth Street, Philadelphia.

Secretary, Edwin Jaquett Sellers, 1830 Pine Street, Philadelphia.

Treasurer, WILLIAM INNES FORBES, 1336 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

Councillors, Ernest Law, St. Davids, Pennsylvania; Henry Morris, M.D., 313 South Sixteenth Street, Philadelphia; Thomas Willing Balch, 1412 Spruce Street, Philadelphia; Carter Berkeley Taylor, 2129 Pine Street, Philadelphia; Edwin Swift Balch, 1412 Spruce Street, Philadelphia; Sydney Emlen Hutchinson, 718 Walnut Street, Philadelphia; George McCall, 1106 Spruce Street, Philadelphia; John Redman Coxe, 1314 Pine Street, Philadelphia; Elihu Spencer Miller, 312 South Tenth Street, Philadelphia; George Quintard Horwitz, Strafford, Pennsylvania; Henry Brinton Coxe, 109 South Twenty-first Street, Philadelphia.

Seventh. The corporation has no capital stock and the annual dues and life membership dues of members shall be assessed as the corporation by its by-laws may determine and shall be applied to promoting the purposes for which the corporation is formed.

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Seventh. The corporation has no capital stock and the annual dues and life membership dues of members shall be assessed as the corporation by its by-laws may determine and shall be applied to promoting the purposes for which the corporation is formed.

Witness our hands and seals this ninth day of June, A. D. One thousand nine hundred and ten (1910).

SA	MUEL DAVIS PAGE	[SEAL]
Jo	SEPH INGERSOLL DORAN	[SEAL]
E	OWIN JAQUETT SELLERS	[SEAL]
W	ILLIAM INNES FORBES	[SEAL]
E	RNEST LAW	[SEAL]
H	ENRY MORRIS	[SEAL]
G	EORGE McCall	[SEAL]
TI	HOMAS WILLING BALCH	[SEAL]
G	EORGE QUINTARD HORWITZ	[SEAL]
C	ARTER BERKELEY TAYLOR	[SEAL]
Jo	HN REDMAN COXE	[SEAL]
E	OWIN SWIFT BALCH	[SEAL]
E	LIHU SPENCER MILLER	[SEAL]
Sy	DNEY EMLEN HUTCHINSON	[SEAL]
H	ENRY BRINTON COXE	[SEAL]

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, CITY and County of Philadelphia.

Before me, the subscriber, Recorder of Deeds of the City and County of Philadelphia, personally appeared Edwin Jaquett Sellers, William Innes Forbes and George Quintard Horwitz, three of the subscribers of the above and foregoing certificate, and in due form of law acknowledged the same to be their act and deed, and the act and deed of their associates, according to the Act of Assembly in such case made and provided.

Witness my hand and official seal this Thirteenth day of June, A. D. One thousand nine hundred and ten (1910).

Joseph K. Fletcher, Deputy Recorder of Deeds. Witness our hands and seals this ninth day of June, A. D. One thousand nine hundred and ten (1910).

	HENRY MORRIS
	GRORGE QUINTARD HORWITZ
[SEAL]	ELIHU SPRNOER MILLER
	SYDNEY EMLEN HUTCHINSON
	Hanry Brinton Coxe

COMMONWEALTH OF PRINSYLVANIA, \$55.

Before me, the subscriber, Recorder of Deeds of the City and Country of Philadelphia, personally appeared Edwin Jaquett Sellers, William Innes Forbes and George Quintard Florwitz, three or the subscribers of the above and foregoing certificate, and in due form of law acknowledged the same to be their act and deed, and the act and deed of their associates, according to the Act of Assembly in such case made and provided.

Witness my hand and official seal this Thirteenth day of June, A. D. One thousand nine hundred and ten (1910).

Josann K. Fintener, Deputy Recorder of Deeds.

#### Decree

CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA, SS:

AND Now, this Sixth (6th) day of July, A. D. 1910, the within Certificate of Incorporation, having been presented to me, a Law Judge of said County, accompanied by due proof of publication of notice of this application as required by the Act of Assembly and rule of this Court in such cases made and provided, I certify that I have examined and perused the said writing, and have found the same to be in proper form and within the purposes named in the First Class specified in Section Second of the Act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, entitled "An Act to Provide for the Incorporation and Regulation of Certain Corporations," approved the twenty-ninth day of April, 1874, and the supplements thereto; and the same appearing to be lawful and not injurious to the community, I do hereby on motion of Edwin Jaquett Sellers, Esq., on behalf of the Petitioners, order and direct that the said Charter of the "Pennsylvania Society of Colonial Governors" aforesaid be and the same is hereby approved, and that upon the recording of the same and of this order, the subscribers thereto and their associates shall be a corporation by the name of "Pennsylvania Society of COLONIAL GOVERNORS" for the purposes and upon the terms therein stated.

WM. WILKINS CARR,

[SEAL] Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, No. 4.

RECORDED in the Office for the Recording of Deeds, etc., in and for the City and County of Philadelphia, in Charter Book No. 41, Page 440, etc.

Witness my hand and seal of office this 6th day of July A. D. One thousand nine hundred and ten (1910).

WM. S. VARE,

Recorder of Deeds.

[SEAL]

#### 3933365

CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADPLPHIA, 55:

WM. WILKINS CARR, [SEAL] Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, No. 4.

RECORDED in the Office for the Recording of Deeds, etc., in and for the City and County of Philadelphia, in Charter Book No. 41, Page 440, etc.

Witness my hand and seal of office this oth day of July A. D. One thousand nine hundred and ten (1910).

WM. S. VARE, Recorder of Deeds.

[SEAL

# By-Laws

#### ARTICLE I.

Name.

The name of the corporation shall be "Pennsylvania Society of Colonial Governors."

# ARTICLE II.

# Purpose.

The purpose for which the corporation is formed is to promote interest in the history of the settlement and government of the American Colonies and the establishment of their Independence.

#### ARTICLE III.

#### Place of Business.

The place where the business of the said corporation is to be transacted is in the City of Philadelphia, State of Pennsylvania.

# ARTICLE IV.

# Officers.

The officers of the corporation shall be a Governor, a Deputy Governor, a Secretary and a Treasurer, who, together with eleven Councillors, shall compose the Council, all of whom shall be elected at the Annual Meeting of the Society and hold office for one year or until their successors be duly qualified.

The Governor, or in his absence the Deputy Governor, shall preside at the meetings of the Society and Council, sign the certificates of membership and execute all contracts or obligations of the Society, unless otherwise ordered.

The Secretary shall send notices of meetings of the Society and Council; record the minutes of meetings of

# Mp-Laws

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The Governor, or in his absence the Deputy Governor, shall preside at the meetings of the Society and Council, sign the certificates of membership and execute all contracts or obligations of the Society, unless otherwise ordered.

The Secretary shall send notices of meetings of the Society and Council; record the minutes of meetings of

the Society and Council; be the custodian of the corporate seal, records and property of the Society, unless otherwise ordered; conduct the correspondence of the Society; issue proposal and application forms for membership; notify those elected members and also the Treasurer of such elections; sign the certificates of membership, affix the corporate seal thereto and issue orders for insignias and rosettes.

The Treasurer shall collect the dues; have charge of the funds and securities of the Society and deposit and invest the same in the name of the Society and himself as Treasurer, unless otherwise ordered by the Society or Council; keep full accounts of all receipts and disbursements and make report thereof at stated meetings of the Society and Council.

The Council shall hold stated meetings the first Monday of the months of October, December, February, April and June at such time and place as the Council may decide. Special meetings of the Council shall be called by the Secretary at the written request of three members of the Council. The Council may request the Secretary to call special meetings of the Society. The Council shall have management of the affairs of the Society, unless otherwise ordered by the Society, make report at the Annual Meeting of the Society, fill vacancies in the offices and may accept resignations of officers and members.

# ARTICLE V.

# Committee on Membership.

The Governor shall appoint three members of the Council as a Committee on Membership whose duty shall be the examination and approval of applications for membership and report thereon to the Council.

# ARTICLE VI.

#### Members.

Adult male American citizens lineally descended from a Governor, Deputy or Lieutenant Governor, or one the Society and Council; be the custodian of the corporate seal, records and property of the Society, unless otherwise ordered; conduct the correspondence of the Society; issue proposal and application forms for membership; notify those elected members and also the Treasurer of such elections; sign the certificates of membership, affix the corporate seal thereto and issue orders for insignias and rosettes.

The Treasurer shall collect the dues; have charge of the funds and securities of the Society and deposit and invest the same in the name of the Society and himself as Treasurer, unless otherwise ordered by the Society or Council; keep full accounts of all recoipts and disbursements and make report thereof at stated meetings of

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# ARTICLE VI.

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Adult male American citizens lineally descended from a Governor, Deputy or Lieutenant Governor, or one

acting as a Governor, shall be eligible for membership. Nominations for membership shall be made in writing by two members who shall send such proposal to the Secretary and he shall present the same to the Council who may authorize the Secretary to issue application form to the applicant and upon the same being duly executed and returned to the Secretary he shall deliver the same to the Committee on Membership and upon their approval and report of the same to the Council the latter may elect such applicant a member, a unanimous vote being required. New members shall pay dues for the ensuing year. Any member may be expelled by a two-thirds vote of the Council for any cause deemed derogatory to the interests of the Society.

# AMENDMENT ADOPTED MARCH 6, 1914.

Any member is entitled to Life Membership upon payment of fifty dollars at one payment.

#### ARTICLE VII.

The annual dues shall be five dollars and shall be due the first of October. Should a member be in arrears two months such fact shall be reported by the Treasurer to the Council who may thereupon order said delinquent's name dropped from the rolls of the Society.

# ARTICLE VIII.

# Meetings.

The annual meeting of the Society shall be held December fifteenth, unless said date should fall on Sunday when the meeting shall be held the succeeding day, at such place and time as the Council may decide.

Special meetings of the Society may be called by the Council or upon the written request to the Secretary of

nine members.

Twelve members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at meetings of the Society and

acting as a Governor, shall be eligible for membership. Nominations for membership shall be made in writing by two members who shall send such proposal to the Secretary and he shall present the same to the Council who may authorize the Secretary to issue application form to the amplicant and upon the same being duly executed and returned to the Secretary he shall deliver the same to the Committee on Membership and upon their approval and report of the same to the Council the latter may elect such applicant a member, a unanimous vote being required. New members shall pay dues for the ensuing year. Any member may be expelled by a two-thirds vote of the Council for any cause deemed derogatory to the interests of the Society.

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five members of the Council shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at meetings of the Council.

#### ARTICLE IX.

# Order of Business.

The Order of Business at meetings of the Society and Council shall be:

- 1. Reading of the minutes.
- 2. Reports of officers.
- 3. Reports of committees.
- 4. Reading of communications.
- 5. Election of members (at meetings of the Council only).
  - 6. Election of officers.
  - 7. Unfinished business.
  - 8. New business.
  - 9. Motion to adjourn.

#### ARTICLE X.

#### Seal.

The corporate seal of the Society shall be the name of the Society inscribed within a circle near the edge and in the center thereof the date of incorporation.

# ARTICLE XI.

# Insignia, Rosette and Standard.

The insignia of the Society shall be gold star of thirteen points upon which shall be placed the shield of the Great Seal of the United States enameled in colors proper encircled by the name of the Society in gold letters upon a blue enameled band edged with gold; through a staple affixed to the back of the top point of the star shall pass a gold ring by means of which the insignia shall be suspended by a watered ribbon of red, orange and light blue equally proportioned, bordered on the edges by red, white and blue. A hidden gold pin shall be fastened to the ribbon as the means of wearing the insignia upon the left lapel of the coat.

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The star of thirteen points represents the American Colonies; the shield the establishment of their Independence; the colors of the ribbon indicate the countries by whom the Colonies were settled and governed, red for England, orange for Holland, and light blue for Sweden, and the red, white and blue orders the establishment of Independence, the insignia being intended to represent the subjects mentioned in the Purpose of the Society.

The Rosette shall conform to the ribbon of the insignia. The Standard or Flag of the Society shall be the insignia, without the ribbon, upon a field of the colors of the ribbon.

### ARTICLE XII.

#### Amendments.

These By-Laws may be amended or repealed by a majority vote at any meeting of the Society called for the purpose.

RICHARD GARDNER, Chief Magistrate, 1071-1045

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# Colonial Governors

BY

GEORGE DOUGLAS HAY, EDWIN JAQUETT SELLERS.

#### MAINE.\*

WILLIAM GORGES, Deputy Governor, 1635–1636.
CHARTER OF SIR F. GORGES, 1639.
THOMAS GORGES, Deputy Governor, 1640.
RICHARD VINES, Deputy Governor, 1644.
EDWARD GODFREY, Governor of West Division, 1646–1658.
GEORGE CLEAVES, Deputy President of the East Division or Lygonia, 1646–1658.
THOMAS DANFORTH, President, 1680–1886.
BRIAN PENDLETON, Deputy President, 1680.
JOHN DAVIS, Deputy President, 1681.

#### EASTERN SAGADOHOCK.

#### Governors.

M. D' Aulney, Lieutenant Governor and Commander at Penobscot, 1635.
M. DE LA TOUR, 1651.
SIR THOMAS TEMPLE, 1655.
M. DENYS, 1670.
SIR EDMUND ANDROS, 1688.

# COLONY OF MARTHA'S VINEYARD.†

Thomas Maynew, Governor and Lord Proprietor, 1641–1664, 1666–1673.
TRISTRAM COFFYN, Chief Magistrate, 1671–1673.
RICHARD GARDNER, Chief Magistrate, 1673–1675.

\* Williamson's History of Maine, Vol. II, page 710. † Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Ed., Vol. XVII, page 439.

# Colonial Covernors

BY DOUGLAS HAY, HOWN JAOUET SELERS.

#### MAINE."

CHARTER OF SIR F. GORGES, 1639.
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RICHARD VINES, Deputy Governor, 1644.
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GEORGE CLEAVES, Deputy President of the East Division or Lygonia, 1646-1658.
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M. DENYS, 1670.

# COLONY OF MARTIA'S VINEYARD.

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TRISTRAM COPPYN, Chief Magistrate, 1671–1673.

RICHARD GARDNER, Chief Magistrate, 1671–1675.

 Williamson's History of Mains, Vol. II, page 710.
 Encyclopadia Britannica, 11th Ed., Vol. XVII, page 43-(03) Thomas Macy, Chief Magistrate, 1675–1677. TRISTRAM COFFYN, Chief Magistrate, 1678–1681. John Gardner, Chief Magistrate, 1681–1693.

# NEW HAMPSHIRE.\*

THOMAS WIGGIN, Governor of Dover, 1633-1637.

JOHN CUTTS, President, 1679-1680.

RICHARD WALDRON, President, 1681; Vice-President, 1680.

ELIAS STILEMAN, Vice-President, 1681.

EDWARD CRANFIELD, Governor, 1682-1685.

Walter Barefoote, Deputy Governor, 1683–1686; Governor, 1686.

Joseph Dudley, President, 1686.

JOHN USHER, Lieutenant Governor and Acting Governor, 1692, 1697.

JOHN HINCKES, Acting Governor, 1693-1694, 1697.

Samuel Allen, Commissioned Governor, 1692; Assumed Government, 1698–1699.

WILLIAM PARTRIDGE, Lieutenant Governor, 1697-1701; Acting Governor, 1698.

RICHARD COOTE, EARL OF BELLOMONT, Governor, 1699. JOSEPH DUDLEY, GOVERNOR, 1702-1715.

WILLIAM PARTRIDGE, Acting Governor, 1701-1703.

JOHN USHER, Lieutenant Governor, 1703-1715.

George Vaughan, Lieutenant Governor, 1715–1717; Acting Governor, 1715–1716.

Peter Coffin, Acting Governor (during temporary absence of Lieutenant Governor Usher).

ELISEUS BURGESS, Governor, 1715–1716 (never assumed government which was administered by George Vaughan, Lieutenant Governor).

SAMUEL SHUTE, Governor, 1716-1723.

<sup>\*</sup> New Hampshire Manual of the General Court; Palfrey's History of New England, Vols. I, II, III, IV, V (Appendices); Richard Hildreth's History of the United States (Index to Vol. III); New Hampshire Provincial Papers, Vol. I, page 119; Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Ed., Vol. XIX, page 498.

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EDWARD CRANDING, GOVERNOY, 1682-1685.

WALTER BARBY COVERNOT, 1683-1686; Gov-

Ioseph Dunley, President, 1686.

JOHN USHER, Lieutenant Governor and Acting Cov-

enter, 1092, 1097.

JOHN HINERES, Acting Governor, 1693-1694, 1697.

SAMUEL ALLEN, Commissioned Governor, 1692; Assumed

WILLIAM PARTRIDGE, Lieutenant Governor, 1697-1701;

RICHARD COOTS, EARL OF BELLOMONT, GOVERNOR, 1699.
JOSEPH DURLEY, GOVERNOR, 1702-1715.

WILLIAM PARTRIDGE, Acting Coverage, 1701-1703.

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GEORGE VAUGHAN, Lieutenant Governor, 1715-1717;
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<sup>\*</sup> New Hampshire Manual of the Governt Court; Policy's History of New England, Vols. 1, 11, 111, IV, V (Appendices); Elekturd History at History of the United States (Index to Vol. 111); New Hompshire Provincial Papers, Vol. 1, page 119; Encyclopedia Instannica, 11th Ed., Vol. XIX, page 498.

John Wentworth, Lieutenant Governor, 1717–1730;
Acting Governor, 1723–1728.
William Burnet, Governor, 1728–1729.
Jonathan Belcher, Governor, 1730–1741.
David Dunbar, Lieutenant Governor, 1731–1740.
Shadrach Walton, (many times Acting Governor in absence of Governor or Lieutenant Governor).
Benning Wentworth, Governor, 1741–1766.
John Wentworth, Governor, 1767–1775.
Mesheck Weare, Governor, 1775.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.\*

#### PLYMOUTH COLONY.

Governors.

John Carver, 1620.
WILLIAM BRADFORD, 1621–1633, 1635, 1637, 1639–1644, 1645–1657.
Edward Winslow, 1633–1634, 1636–1637, 1644–1645.
Thomas Prince, 1634–1635, 1638, 1657–1673.
Josiah Winslow, 1673–1680.
Thomas Hinckley, 1680–1686, 1689–1692.
ISAAC Allerton, pro tem., 1621.
John Alden, pro tem., 1664–1665, 1677.

# Deputy Governors.

THOMAS HINCKLEY, 1680.

JAMES CADWORTH, 1681.

WILLIAM BRADFORD, 1682-1686, 1689-1692.

Dorchester Colony.

ROGER CONANT, Governor, 1625-1628.

THE PLANTATION IN NEW ENGLAND. JOHN ENDICOTT, GOVERNOR, 1629-1630.

<sup>\*</sup> Palfrey's History of New England, Vols. I, II, III, IV, V (Appendices); Richard Hildreth's History of the United States (Index to Vol. III); Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Ed., Vol. XVII, page 862.

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David Dunbar, Lieutenant Governor, 1731-1740.
Shadrach Walton, (many times Acting Governor in absence of Governor or Lieutenant Governor).
Bennine Wentworth, Governor, 1741-1760.
John Wentworth, Governor, 1741-1775.
Mesheck Weare, Governor, 1775.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.\*

# PLYMOUTH COLONY.

Constituers.

John Carver, 1620.
William Bradford, 1621-1633, 1635, 1637, 1639-1644, 1645-1657.
Edward Winslow, 1633-1634, 1636-1637, 1644-1645.
Thomas Prince, 1634-1635, 1638, 1657-1673.
Josiah Winslow, 1673-1680.
Thomas Hinckley, 1680-1686, 1680-1602.

IHOMAS HINCKLEY, 1080-1080, 1080-1092 ISAAC ALLERTON, Pro tem., 1001. JOHN ALDEN, Pro tem., 1004-1005, 1677.

Deputy Governors.

THOMAS HINCKLEY, 1680. JAMES CADWORTH, 1681. WILLIAM BRADFORD, 1682-1686, 1689-1692.

> DORCHESTER COLONY, ROGER CONANT, GOVERNOR, 1025-1028.

THE PLANTATION IN NEW ENGLAND.

JOHN ENDICOTT, GOVERNOY, 1529-1530.

<sup>\*</sup> Pallrey's History of New England, Vols. I. II., IV, V (Appandices); Richard Hildesth's History of the United Sastes (linder to Vol. III); Exceptions Bestannica, 11th Ed., Vol. XVII, page 862.

# MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Governors.

MATTHEW CRADOCK, 1628-1629 (non-resident). TOHN WINTHROP, 1629-1634, 1637-1640, 1642-1644, 1646-1640. THOMAS DUDLEY, 1634, 1640, 1645, 1650. JOHN HAYNES, 1635. HENRY VANE, 1636-1637. RICHARD BELLINGHAM, 1641, 1654, 1665-1672. JOHN ENDICOTT, 1644, 1649, 1651-1653, 1655-1664. IOHN LEVERETT, 1672-1678. SIMON BRADSTREET, 1679-1686. SIR EDMUND ANDROS, 1686-1680. SIMON BRADSTREET, 1680-1602. SIR WILLIAM PHIPS, 1692-1694. WILLIAM STOUGHTON, Acting, 1694-1699, 1700-1701. RICHARD COOTE, EARL OF BELLOMONT, 1609-1700. THOMAS POWNALL, 1757-1760. SIR FRANCIS BERNARD, 1760-1769. THOMAS HUTCHINSON, 1771-1774. THOMAS GAGE, 1774-1775.

# Deputy Governors.

THOMAS GOFFE, 1628-1629 (non-resident). JOHN HUMPHREY, 1629 (elected but did not serve). THOMAS DUDLEY, 1630-1634, 1637-1640, 1646-1650, 1651-1653. ROGER LUDLOW, 1634-1635. RICHARD BELLINGHAM, 1635, 1640, 1653, 1655-1665. JOHN WINTHROP, 1636, 1644-1646. JOHN ENDICOTT, 1641-1644, 1650, 1654. FRANCIS WILLOUGHBY, 1665-1671. JOHN LEVERETT, 1671-1673. SAMUEL SYMONDS, 1673-1678. SIMON BRADSTREET, 1678-1679. THOMAS DANFORTH, 1679-1686. JOSEPH DUDLEY, President, 1686. THOMAS DANFORTH, 1689-1692. JOSEPH DUDLEY, 1702-1715.

# MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Governors.

MATTHEW CRADOCK, 1628-1629 (non-resident). John Winthhop, 1629-1634, 1637-1640, 1642-1644,

1646-1649.

THOMAS DUBLEY, 1634, 1649, 1645, 1650.

John Harmer House to S.

RICHARD BELLINGHAM, 1641, 1654, 1665-1672.

JOHN EMBICOTT, 1644, 1649, 1651-1653, 1655-1664.

SIMON BRADSTREET, 1679-1686.

SIR HOMUND ANDROS, 1686-1686

SIMON BRADSTREET, 1689-1692.

SIR WILLIAM PHIPS, 1092-1694.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON, Acting, 1604-1609, 1700-1701, RICHARD COOTE, EARL OF BELLOMONT, 1609-1700.

THOMAS FOWNALL, 1787-1700.

SIR FRANCIS BERNARD, 1760-1769.

THOMAS HUTCHINSON, 1771-1774.

THOMAS GAGE, 1774-1775.

# Deputy Covernors

THOMAS GOFFE, 1628-1619 (non-resident).

JOHN HUMPHRRY, 1629 (elected but did not serve).

THOMAS DUDLEY, 1630-1634, 1637-1640, 1646-1650,
1651-1652

ROCER LUDIOW, 1634-1635.

RICHARD ВЕLLINGHAM, 1635, 1640, 1653, 1655-1665.

JOHN WINTHROP, 1636, 1644-1646.

JOHN ENDICOTT, 1641-1644, 1650, 1654

JOHN LEVERETT, 1671-1673.

SIMON BRADSTREET, 1675-1679

I HOMAS DANFORTH, 1070-1080.

Тиомая Дангокти, 1689-1692

ELISEUS BURGESS, 1715 (non-resident).
WILLIAM TAILER, Acting, 1715, 1716, 1730.
SAMUEL SHUTE, 1716–1722.
WILLIAM DUMMER, Acting, 1722–1728, 1729–1730.
WILLIAM BURNET, 1728–1729.
JONATHAN BELCHER, 1730, 1741.
WILLIAM SHIRLEY, 1741–1749, 1753–1756.
SPENCER PHIPS, Acting, 1749–1753, 1756–1757.

#### Lieutenant Governors.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON, 1692–1701.
THOMAS POVEY, 1702–1706, 1711.
WILLIAM TAILER, 1711–1716, 1730–1733.
WILLIAM DUMMER, 1716–1730.
SPENCER PHIPS, 1733–1749, 1757.
THOMAS HUTCHINSON, 1758–1771.
ANDREW OLIVER, 1771–1774.
THOMAS OLIVER, 1774–1775.

#### RHODE ISLAND.\*

JEREMIAH CLARKE, President, Regent of Rhode Island in 1648.

WILLIAM CODDINGTON, Judge, 1638–1639; Governor, 1640–1647; President, 1648–1649; Governor under the Charter, 1674–1676, 1678.

WILLIAM HUTCHINSON, Judge, 1639-1640.

WILLIAM BRENTON, Deputy Governor of Aquedneck, 1640–1647; President, 1660–1662; Governor, 1666–1669.

John Coggeshall, President, 1647–1648. JEREMIAH CLARKE, President, 1648–1649.

John Smith, President, 1640–1650, 1652–1653.

NICHOLAS EASTON, President, 1650–1651, 1654; Interregnum Governor under the Charter, 1672–1674; Deputy Governor, 1666, 1667.

<sup>\*</sup> State Manual of Rhode Island; Palfrey's History of New England, Vols. I, II, III, IV, V (Appendices); Richard Hildreth's History of the United States (Index to Vol. III); Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Ed., Vol. XXIII, page 253.

WILLIAM TAILER, ACING, 1715, 1716, 1730.

SAMUEL SHUTE, 1716-1722.

WILLIAM DUMNER, Acting, 1723-1728, 1729-1730.

WILLIAM BURNET, 1728-1720.

JONATHAN BELCHER, 1730, 1741.

WILLIAM SHIRLEY, 1741-1749, 1753-1756.

SPENCER PHIPS, Acring, 1740-1753, 1756-1757.

Lieuterant Governors.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON, 1692-1701.
THOMAS POVEY, 1702-1706, 1711.
WILLIAM TAILER, 1711-1716, 1730-1733.
WILLIAM DUMMER, 1710-1730.
SPEKCER PHIPS, 1733-1749, 1757.
THOMAS HUTCHINSON, 1758-1771.
ANDREW CHIVER, 1771-1774.
THOMAS OLIVER, 1771-1774.

# RHODE ISLAND.\*

JEREMIAH CLARKE, President, Regent of Rhode Island in 1648.

William Coddington, Judge, 1638-1639; Governor, 1640-1647; President, 1648-1649; Governor under the Charter, 1674-1676, 1678.

WILLIAM HUTCHINSON, Judge, 1639-1646.

WILLIAM BRENTON, Deputy Governor of Aquedneck, 1640-1647; President, 1660-1662; Governor, 1660-1669.

John Cocceshall, President, 1647-1648. Jeremiah Clarke, President, 1648-1649. John Smith, President, 1640-1650, 1682-1653

Nicholas Baston, President, 1650-1651, 1654; Interregnum Governor under the Charter, 1672-1674; Deputy Governor, 1666, 1667.

State Manual of Rhode Island: Pollrey's History of New England, Vols. 1, II, III, IV, V (Appendices); Richard Hillerth's Herry of 168 United States (Indian to Vol. III), Encyclopadia Britannica, 11th Ed., Vol. XXIII, page 253.

Samuel Gorton, President, 1651-1652.

Gregory Dexter, President, 1653-1654.

John Sanford, President of Portsmouth and Warwick, 1653-1654.

ROGER WILLIAMS, President, 1654-1657.

Benedict Arnold, President, 1657–1660, 1662–1663; Governor under the Charter, 1663–1666, 1669–1672, 1677–1678.

Governors.

Walter Clarke, 1676-1677, 1686, 1696-1698.

John Cranston, 1678-1680.

Peleg Sanford, 1680-1683.

WILLIAM CODDINGTON, JR., 1683-1685.

HENRY BULL, 1685-1686, 1690.

JOHN EASTON, 1690-1695.

CALEB CARR, 1605.

SAMUEL CRANSTON, 1698-1727.

JOSEPH JENCKES, 1727-1732.

WILLIAM WANTON, 1732-1733.

JOHN WANTON, 1734-1740.

RICHARD WARD, 1740-1743.

WILLIAM GREENE, 1743-1745, 1746-1747, 1748-1755, 1757-1758.

GIDEON WANTON, 1745-1746, 1747-1748.

STEPHEN HOPKINS, 1755, 1756, 1758-1761, 1763, 1764, 1767.

SAMUEL WARD, 1762, 1765, 1766.

Josias Lyndon, 1768.

JOSEPH WANTON, 1769-1775.

NICHOLAS COOKE, 1775.

Deputy Governors.

WILLIAM BRENTON, 1663-1666.

NICHOLAS EASTON, 1666-1669, 1672-1674.

JOHN CLARK, 1669-1670, 1671-1672.

JOHN CRANSTON, 1672-1673, 1676-1678.

WILLIAM CODDINGTON, 1673-1674.

John Easton, 1674-1676.

JAMES BARKER, 1678-1679.

HENRY BULL, 1685-1686, 1690.

SAMUEL CRANSTON, 1608-1727.

WALTER CLARKE, 1679-1686, 1700-1714. IOHN COGGESHALL, 1686, 1689-1690. JOHN GREENE, 1690-1700. HENRY TEW, 1714-1715. JOSEPH JENCKES, 1715-1721, 1722-1727. JOHN WANTON, 1721-1722, 1729-1734. JONATHAN NICHOLS, 1727. THOMAS FRYE, 1727-1729. GEORGE HASSARD, 1734-1738. DANIEL ABBOTT, 1738-1740. RICHARD WARD, 1740. WILLIAM GREENE, 1740-1743. JOSEPH WHIPPLE, 1743-1745, 1746-1747, 1751-1752. WILLIAM ROBINSON, 1745-1746, 1747-1748. WILLIAM ELLERY, 1748-1750. ROBERT HAZARD, 1750. JONATHAN NICHOLS, JR., 1753, 1755. JOHN GARDNER, 1754. JONATHAN GARDNER, 1756-1763. JOSEPH WANTON, JR., 1764, 1767. ELISHA BROWN, 1765, 1766. NICHOLAS COOKE, 1768, 1775. DARIUS SESSIONS, 1769-1774.

# CONNECTICUT.\*

Commissioners appointed by the General Court of Massachusetts, March 3, 1635–36, to govern Connecticut for a year, Roger Ludlow, William Pynchon, John Steel, William Swaine, Henry Smyth, William Phelps, William Westwood and Andrew Ward. (Records of Massachusetts, Vol. I, page 171.)

# Governors.

John Haynes, 1639. Edward Hopkins, 1640. John Haynes, 1641, and alternate years until 1653.

<sup>\*</sup> Palfrey's History of New England, Vols. I, II, III, IV, V (Appendices); Richard Hildreth's History of the United States (Index to Vol. III); Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Ed., Vol. VI, page 957.

# CONNECTICUT."

Commissioners appointed by the General Court of Massachusetts, March 3, 1635-36, to govern Connecticut for a year, Roger Ludlow, William Pynchon, John Steel, William Swaine, Henry Snyth, William Phelps, William Westwood and Andrew Ward. (Records of Massachusetts, Vol. I, page 171.)

# Governors.

John Haynes, 1630. Edward Hopkins, 1640. John Haynes, 1647, and alternate years until 1653.

<sup>\*</sup> Pallrey's History of New Isagland, Vols 1, 11, 111, 1V, V (Appendices); Richard Hildreth's History of the United States (Index to Vol. 111); Succeptionalis Britannica, 11th Ed., Vol. VI, page 957.

GEORGE WYLLYS, 1642. EDWARD HOPKINS, 1644, and alternate years until 1654. THOMAS WELLES, 1655, 1658. JOHN WEBSTER, 1656. JOHN WINTHROP, 1657, 1659, 1667. JOHN WINTHROP, 1662-1676. WILLIAM LEETE, 1676-1683. ROBERT TREAT, 1683-1698. FITZ-JOHN WINTHROP, 1698-1708. GURDON SALTONSTALL, 1708-1725. JOSEPH TALCOTT, 1725-1742. JONATHAN LAW, 1742-1751. ROGER WOLCOTT, 1750-1754. THOMAS FITCH, 1754-1766. WILLIAM PITKIN, 1766-1769. JONATHAN TRUMBULL, 1769-1775.

# Deputy Governors.

ROGER LUDLOW, 1639, 1642, 1648. JOHN HAYNES, 1640, 1644, 1646, 1650, 1652. GEORGE WYLLYS, 1641. EDWARD HOPKINS, 1643. THOMAS WELLES, 1654, 1656-1658, 1659; Governor, 1655, 1658. JOHN WINTHROP, 1658. JOHN MASON, 1660-1669. WILLIAM LEETE, 1669-1676. ROBERT TREAT, 1676-1683. TAMES BISHOP, 1683-1602. WILLIAM JONES, 1602-1608. ROBERT TREAT, 1698-1708. NATHAN GOLD, 1708-1724. TOSEPH TALCOTT, 1724-1725. IONATHAN LAW, 1725-1742; Governor, 1742-51. ROGER WOLCOTT, 1742-1750. THOMAS FITCH, 1750-1754. WILLIAM PITKIN, 1754-1766. IONATHAN TRUMBULL, 1766-1769. MATHEW GRISWOLD, 1769-1775.

Grorge Wyllys, 1642.

Edward Hopkins, 1644, and alternate years until 1654.

Thomas Welles, 1655, 1658.

John Winthrop, 1657, 1659, 1667.

John Winthrop, 1662-1676.

William Lebts, 1676-1683.

Robert Treat, 1683-1698.

Firz-John Winthrop, 1698-1798.

Gurdon Saltonstall, 1798-1725.

Joseph Talcott, 1725-1742.

Jonathan Law, 1742-1751.

Rocer Wolcott, 1759-1754.

Rocer Wolcott, 1759-1756.

Thomas Firch, 1759-1769.

William Pitrin, 1760-1769.

Jonathan Trumbull, 1760-1775.

Deputy Governors.

Roger Ludlow, 1639, 1642, 1648.

John Havnes, 1640, 1644, 1646, 1650, 1652.

Grorge Wyllvs, 1643.

Thomas Welles, 1654, 1656-1658, 1650; Governor, 1655, 1658.

John Winthrov, 1658.

William Lerte, 1669-1676.

Kobert Treat, 1669-1676.

James Bishov, 1683-1692.

William Jones, 1693-1692.

Nilliam Jones, 1693-1692.

Nilliam Jones, 1693-1692.

Nothan Gold, 1768-1798.

Nathan Gold, 1768-1798.

Nathan Gold, 1768-1794.

JONATHAN LAW, 1725-1742; Governor, 1742-31.
ROGER WOLCOTT, 1742-1750.

THOMAS PITCH, 1750-1754 WILLIAM PITKIN, 1754-1766. IONATHAN TRUMMURL, 1766-12

MATHEW GRISVOUR, 1769-1775.

#### NEW HAVEN COLONY.

Governors.

Thomas Lamberton, 1641-1653. Theophilus Eaton, 1639-1657. Francis Newman, 1658-1660. William Leete, 1661-1665.

Deputy Governors.

Thomas Gregson, 1643. Stephen Goodyeare, 1644-1658. Matthew Gilbert, 1661-1663. William Jones, 1664-1667. Matthew Allyn, 1660-1666.

# NEW YORK, PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY AND DELAWARE.\*

New Netherlands and the Dutch on the Delaware.

Adrian Jorisz Tienpont, Director, 1623; Vice Director, 1614–1623.

CAPT. CORNELIUS JACOBSEN MAY, Director, 1624-1625; Vice Director, 1623-1624.

WILLIAM VANHULST, Director, 1625.

Peter Minuit, First Director General, 1626-1632.

Bastiaen Janssen Crol, Director General, 1632-1633.

Wouter Van Twiller, Director General, 1633-1637.

Arent Corssen, Vice Director, 1633-1635.

WILLIAM KIEFT, Director General, 1637-1647.

Jansen Van Ilpendam, Vice Director, 1638-1645.

Andreas Hudde, Vice Director, 1645-1648.

Peter Stuyvesant, Director General, 1647-1664.

<sup>\*</sup> Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. IX, Second Series, page 617, et seq.; History of the United States, by Richard Hildreth, Index to Vol. III; History of the State of New York, by John R. Brodhead, Vol. II; Empire State, by B. J. Lossing; History of the Colony of New Jersey, by Samuel Smith, pages 167, 191; New Jersey Archives, First Series, Vol. I, page 421; Grants and Concessions of New Jersey, pages 471, 472; Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Ed., Vol. XIX, page 609, Vol. XXI, page 113.

# NEW HAVEN COLONY,

Governors.

THOMAS LAWBERTON, 1641-1653. THEOPHILUS HATON, 1639-1657. FRANCIS NEWWAN, 1658-1660. WILLIAM LEETE, 1661-1665.

Deputy Governors.

THOMAS GREGSON, 1643.
STEPHEN GODDYBARE, 1644-1658.
MATTHEW GILBERT, 1661-1663.
WILLIAM JONES, 1664-1667.
MATTHEW ALLYN, 1660-1666.

# NEW YORK, PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY AND DELAWARE.\*

NEW NETHERLANDS AND THE DUTCH ON THE DELAWARE.

ADRIAN JORISE TIENFONT, Director, 1623; Vice Director, 1614-1623.

CAPT. CORRELIUS JACOBSEN MAY, Director, 1624-1625;

WILLIAM VANHULST. Director, 1025.

Peter Minuit, First Director General, 1626-1632.

Bastiann Janssen Crot, Director General, 1632-1633.

Wouter Van Twiller, Director General, 1633-1637.

Arbit Corssen, Vice Director, 1633-1632.

WILLIAM KIRFT, Director General, 1639-1647.
JANSEN VAN ILBENDAM, Vice Director 1638-16

ANDREAS HUDDE, Vice Director, 1645-1648.

"Panusylvania Archives, Vol. IX, Second Series, page 517, et see; History of the United States by Richard Hidroth, Index to Vol. 111; History of the State of New York, by John R. Brodhead, Vol. II; Ismpira State, by B. J. Lossing; History of the Colony of New Arrey, by Saruel Smith, pages 167, 191; New Jersey Archive, forst Series Vol. I, page 131; Grants and Concessions of New Arrest, pages 431, 472; Encycloped Britannica, 11th Ed., Vol. XIX, name 600, Vol. XXI, once 113.

New Sweden and the Swedes on the Delaware.

Peter Minuit, 1638–1640.

Jost de Bogardt, Acting Governor, 1640.

Peter Hollandare, Governor, 1640–1643.

Johan Printz, Governor, 1643–1653.

Johan Papegoya, Acting Governor, 1653–1654.

John Claudius Rysingh, Governor, 1654–1655.

DOMINION OF THE DUTCH.

JEAN PAUL JAQUET, Vice Director and Chief Magistrate, 1655–1657.
WILLIAM BEEKMAN, Vice Director, 1658–1663.

ALEXANDER D'HINAYOSSA, Vice Director, 1663–1664.

Dominion of the Duke of York.

Col. Richard Nichols, Governor, 1664–1668. SIR ROBERT CARR, Deputy Governor, 1664–1667. Col. Francis Lovelace, Governor, 1668–1673. Capt. John Carr, Deputy Governor, 1668–1673.

DOMINION OF THE DUTCH.

Anthony Colve, Governor General, 1673–1674. Peter Alrichs, Deputy Governor, 1673–1674.

#### DOMINION OF THE ENGLISH.

SIR EDMUND ANDROS, Governor, 1674–1683.

CAPT. MATTHIAS NICHOLS, Deputy Governor, 1674–1675.

CAPT. EDMUND CANTRELL, Deputy Governor, 1675–1676.

CAPT. JOHN COLLIER, Deputy Governor, 1676–1677.

CAPT. CHRISTOPHER BILLOP, Deputy Governor, 1677–1680.

# NEW YORK.

Major Anthony Brockholst, Commander in Chief, 1681.

Col. Thomas Dongan, Governor, 1683–1688. Sir Edmund Andros, Governor General, 1688. Francis Nicholson, Lieutenant Governor, 1688–1689. NEW SWEDEN AND THE SWEDES ON THE DELAWARE.

Peter Minuit, 1638-1640.

Jost de Bogardt, Acting Governor, 1640.

Peter Hollandare, Governor, 1640-1643.

Johan Printz, Governor, 1643-1653.

Johan Papugova, Acting Governor, 1653-1654.

John Claudius Rysingh, Governor, 1653-1655.

Dominion or the Durch.

JEAN PAUL JAQUET, Vice Director and Chief Magistrate, 1655-1657.

WILLIAM BERKMAN, Vice Director, 1053-1003.

ALEXANDER D'HINAYOSSA, Vice Director, 1063-1664.

COL. RICHARD NICHOLS, GOVERNOR, 1664-1668.
SIR ROBBET CARR, DEPUTY GOVERNOR, 1664-1667.
COL. FRANCIS LOVELACE, GOVERNOR, 1668-1673.
CAPT. JOHN CARR, DEPUTY GOVERNOR, 1668-1673.

DOMINION OF THE DUTCH.

ANTHONY COLVE, GOVERNOR GENERAL, 1673-1674.

PETER ALRICHS DOMINY GOVERNOR 1673-1674.

Sir Edwind Andros, Governor, 1674-1683.

Capt. Matthias Nichols, Deputy Governor, 1674-1675.

Capt. Honund Cantrible, Deputy Governor, 1675-1676.

Capt. John Collier, Deputy Governor, 1676-1677.

Capt. Christopher Billor, Deputy Governor, 1677-

NEW YORK.

Major Anthony Brockholst, Commander in Chief, 1681.

Col. Thomas Dongam, Governor, 1683-1688.
Sir Edwind Andres, Governor General, 1688.
Francis Nicholson, Lieutement Governor, 1688-1689.

JACOB LEISLER, Lieutenant Governor, 1689–1691. Col. Henry Sloughter, Governor, 1691. Major Richard Ingoldesby, Commander in Chief, 1691–1692.

Col. Benjamin Fletcher, Governor, 1692–1698. Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont, Governor, 1698–1699, 1700–1701.

John Nanfan, Lieutenant Governor, 1701-1702.

## EAST JERSEY.

PHILIP CARTERET, Governor, 1665–1681.
ROBERT BARCLAY, Governor, 1682–1683, 1683–1685.
THOMAS RYDYARD, Deputy Governor, 1683.
GAWEN LAWRIE, Deputy Governor, 1683–1685.
LORD NEIL CAMPBELL, Governor, 1685–1692.
ANDREW HAMILTON, GOVERNOR, 1692–1697.
SIR THOMAS LANE, GOVERNOR, 1698.
JEREMIAH BASSE, GOVERNOR, 1698–1699.

# WEST JERSEY.

EDWARD BYLLYNGE, Governor, 1680–1687.

SAMUEL JENNINGS, Deputy Governor, 1681–1683; Governor, 1683.

THOMAS OLIVER, Deputy Governor, 1684–1685.

JOHN SKENE, Deputy Governor, 1685–1687.

WILLIAM WELSH, Deputy Governor, 1686.

EDWARD HUNLOKE, (appointed Deputy Governor by Governor Daniel Coxe,) 1687.

DANIEL COXE, Governor, 1687–1692.

ANDREW HAMILTON, 1692–1697.

JEREMIAH BASSE, Deputy Governor, 1697–1698.

ANDREW HAMILTON, Governor, 1699–1702.

NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY UNITED.

EDWARD HYDE, LORD CORNBURY, Governor, 1702–1708.

JOHN, LORD LOVELACE, Governor, 1708.

PETER SCHUYLER, Acting Governor of New York, 1709.

RICHARD INGOLDESBY, Lieutenant Governor, 1709–1710.

GERARDUS BEEKMAN, Acting Governor of New York, 1710.

JACOB LEISLER, Lieutenant Covernor, 1689-1691.
COL. HENRY SLOVOHTER, COVERNOR, 1691.
MAJOR RICHARD INCOLUREDY COMMONDER IN Chief

1691-1692.

COL. BENJAMIN FLETCHER, GOVERNOR, 1692-1698.
RICHARD COOTE, EARL OF BELLOMONT, GOVERNOR, 1698-

JOHN NANKAN, Lieutenant Governor, 1701-1702.

## HAST JERSEY.

PHILIP CARTERET, GOVERNOR, 1565-1581.

ROBERT BARCLAY, GOVERNOR, 1582-1583, 1583-1585.

THOMAS RYDYARD, Deputy GOVERNOR, 1583, 683-1585.

GAWEN LAWRIE, Deputy GOVERNOR, 1583-1585.

LORD NEIL CAMPBELL, GOVERNOR, 1585-1592.

ANDREW HAMILTON, GOVERNOR, 1592-1597.

SIR THOMAS LANE, GOVERNOR, 1598-1500.

JEREMIAH BASSE, GOVERNOR, 1598-1500.

#### WEST TERSEY.

EDWARD BYLLYNGE, Governor, 1680-1687.
SAMUEL JENNINGS, Deputy Governor, 1681-1683; Governor, 1683.

THOMAS OLIVER, Deputy Governor, 1684-1685. JOHN SKENE, Deputy Governor, 1685-1687. WILLIAM WRISH, Deputy Governor, 1686.

EDWARD HUNLORE, (appointed Deputy Covernor by Governor Daniel Cove) 1687

Daniel Coxe, Governor, 1687–1692. Andrew Hamilton, 1692–1697. Jeremian Basse, Deputy Governor, 1607–1608.

ANDREW HAMILTON, GOVERNOR, 1609-1702.

NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY UNITED.

EDWARD HYDE, LORD CORNBURY, GOVERNOR, 1702-1708.

JOHN, LORD LOVELACE, GOVERNOR, 1708.

PETER SCHUYLER, Acting GOVERNOR of New York, 1709.

RICHARD INCOLDESDY, Lieutenam Governor, 1709-1710.

GERARDUS BELEMAN, Acting Governor of New York, 1710.

GENERAL ROBERT [RICHARD] HUNTER, GOVERNOR, 1710-1719.

Peter Schuyler, Acting Governor of New York, 1719-1720.

Lewis Morris, Acting Governor of New Jersey, 1719-1720.

WILLIAM BURNET, Governor, 1720-1727.

John Montgomerie, Governor, 1728-1731.

RIP VAN DAM, Acting Governor of New York, 1731-1732. Lewis Morris, Acting Governor of New Jersey, 1731-1732.

WILLIAM CROSBY, Governor, 1732-1736.

GEORGE CLARKE, Acting Governor of New York, 1736-1737.

John Anderson, Acting Governor of New Jersey, 1736. Lord de la Ware, Governor, 1737. John Hamilton, Acting Governor of New Jersey, 1736–

1738.

#### NEW YORK.

GEORGE CLARKE, Lieutenant Governor, 1736–1743.

ADMIRAL GEORGE CLINTON, Governor, 1743–1753.

SIR DANVERS OSBORNE, Governor, 1753.

SIR CHARLES HARDY, Governor, 1755–1757.

JAMES DELANCEY, Lieutenant Governor, 1753–1755;

1757–1760.

CADWALADER COLDEN, Acting Governor, 1760-1761, 1763-1765, 1769-1770.

ROBERT MONCTON, Governor, 1761, 1762–1763.

SIR HENRY MOORE, Governor, 1765–1769.

John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, Governor, 1770–1771.

Cadwalader Colden, Governor, 1771–1776.

William Tyron, Governor, 1775.

## New Jersey.

Lewis Morris, Governor, 1738–1746. John Hamilton, Acting Governor, 1746–1747. John Reading, Acting Governor, 1747–1758. Jonathan Belcher, Governor, 1747–1757. SENERAL ROBERT [RICHARD] HUNTER, Governor, 1710-

PETER SCHUYLER, Acting Governor of New York, 1719-1720.

LEWIS MORRIS, Acting Governor of New Jersey, 1719-

WILLIAM BURNET, COVERNOR, 1720-1727.

JOHN MONTGOMBRIE, GOVERNOY, 1728-1731

KIP VAN DAM, Acting Governor of New York, 1731-1732.

LEWIS MORRIS, Acting Governor of New Jersey, 1731-

WILLIAM CROSBY, GOVERNOY, 1712-1736.

GRORGE CLARKE, Acting Governor of New York, 1736-

JOHN ANDERSON, Acting Governor of New Jersey, 1736.

John Hamilton, Acting Governor of New Jersey, 1730-1738.

#### NEW YORK.

GEORGE CLARKE, Licutenant Governor, 1736-1743.
ADMIRAL GEORGE CLINTON, GOVERNOR, 1743-1753.
SER DANKES OSHORNE GENERAL TOTAL

Sto Chartes Haron Common and Long.

JAMES DELANCEY, Lieutenant Governor, 1753-1755:

CADWALADER COLDEN, Acting Governor, 1760-1761, 1763-1765, 1769-1770.

ROBURT MONCTON, Governor, 1761, 1762-1763

JOHN MURRAY, EARL OF DUNMORE, GOVERNOR, 1770-1771.

CADWALADER COLDEN, GOVERNOT, 1771-1776.

WILLIAM TYRON, GOVERNOY, 1775.

## NEW JERSEY.

LEWIS MORRIS, Governor, 1738-1746.

JOHN HAMILTON, Acting Governor, 1746-1747.

JOHN READING, Acting Governor, 1747-1758.

JONATHAN BELCHER, GOVERNOR, 1747-1759.

THOMAS POWNALL, Lieutenant Governor, 1757. Francis Bernard, Governor, 1758-1760. THOMAS BOONE, Governor, 1760-1761. Josiah Hardy, Governor, 1761. WILLIAM FRANKLIN, Governor, 1762.

#### PENNSYLVANIA AND THE THREE COUNTIES OF DELAWARE.\*

WILLIAM PENN, Proprietor, 1681-1693. WILLIAM MARKHAM, Deputy Governor, 1681-1682. WILLIAM PENN, Proprietor and Governor, 1682-1684. THOMAS LLOYD, President of the Council and Acting Governor, 1684-1686.

THOMAS LLOYD, ARTHUR COOK, TOHN SIMCOCK. JOHN ECKLEY.

ROBERT TURNER, COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED BY PENN, 1686-1688.

JOHN BLACKWELL, Deputy Governor, 1688-1690. THOMAS LLOYD, President of the Council and Acting Governor, 1690-91.

THOMAS LLOYD, Deputy Governor, 1691-1693.

WILLIAM MARKHAM, Deputy Governor of the Counties on the Delaware, 1601-1603.

BENJAMIN FLETCHER, Governor of New York and Pennsylvania, 1603-1605.

WILLIAM MARKHAM, Deputy Governor, 1693-1695. WILLIAM PENN, Proprietor and Governor, 1605-1718. WILLIAM MARKHAM, Deputy Governor, 1605-1600. Samuel Carpenter, Deputy Governor, 1604-1608. JOHN GOODSON, Deputy Governor, 1695. WILLIAM PENN, Proprietor and Governor, 1600-1701. Andrew Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor, 1701-1703.

EDWARD SHIPPEN, Acting Governor, President of Council, 1703-1704.

JOHN EVANS, Lieutenant Governor, 1704-1709.

<sup>\*</sup> Smull's Legislative Hand Book and Manual of Pennsylvania, 1910, page 713; Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Vol. IX, page 621.

THOMAS BOOME, GOVERNOR, 1760-1761. 1980534

> PENNSYLVANIA AND THE THREE COUNTIES OF DELAWARE.\*

CHARLES GOOKIN, Lieutenant Governor, 1709–1717. SIR WILLIAM KEITH, Lieutenant Governor, 1717–1726. JOHN PENN, RICHARD PENN and THOMAS PENN, Proprietors, 1718–1746.

Patrick Gordon, Lieutenant Governor, 1726–1736.

James Logan, Acting Governor, President of Council,
1736–1738.

George Thomas, Lieutenant Governor, 1738-1741, 1746-1747.

John Penn and Thomas Penn, Proprietors, 1746–1776. Anthony Palmer, Acting Governor, President of Council, 1746–1748.

James Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor, 1748–1754.
Robert Hunter Morris, Deputy Governor, 1754–1756.
William Denny, Lieutenant Governor, 1756–1759.
James Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor, 1759–1763.
John Penn, Lieutenant Governor, 1763–1771.
James Hamilton, Acting Governor, President of Council, 1771.

RICHARD PENN, Lieutenant Governor, 1771–1773. John Penn, Lieutenant Governor, 1773–1776.

## MARYLAND.\*

George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore, Proprietor, 1632. Caecilius Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore, Proprietor, 1632–1675.

CHARLES CALVERT, Third Lord Baltimore, Proprietor, 1675–1715.

Benedict Leonard Calvert, Fourth Lord Baltimore, Proprietor, 1715.

CHARLES CALVERT, Fifth Lord Baltimore, Proprietor, 1715-1751.

Frederick, Sixth Lord Baltimore, Proprietor, 1751–1771. CAECILIUS CALVERT, Governor, 1632–1654. LEONARD CALVERT, Governor, 1633–1648.

<sup>\*</sup> Richard Hildreth's History of the United States (Index to Vol. III); Scharf's History of Maryland, Vol. III, page 776, et seq.; Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Ed., Vol. XVII, page 832.

CHARLES GOOKIN, Lieutenant Governor, 1709-1717.

SIR WILLIAM KEITH, Lieutenant Governor, 1717-1726.

JOHN PENN, RICHARD PENN and THOMAS PENN, Proprietors. 1718-1746.

PATRICE GORDON, Lieutenant Governor, 1726-1736.

JAMES LOGAN, Acting Covernor, President of Council, 1736-1738.

George Thomas, Lieutenant Governor, 1738-1741,

1746-1747-

JOHN PENN and THOMAS PENN, Proprietors, 1746-1776. ANTHONY PALMER, Acting Governor, President of Coun-

cil, 1746-1748.

JAMES HAMILTON, Lieutenant Governor, 1748-1754.
ROBERT HUNTER MORRIS, Deputy Governor, 1754-1756.
WILLIAM DENNY, Lieutenant Governor, 1756-1759.
JAMES HAMILTON, Lieutenant Governor, 1759-1763.
JOHN PENN, Lieutenant Governor, 1763-1771.
JAMES HAMILTON, Acting Governor, President of Council,

RICHARD PRNN, Lieutenant Governor, 1771-1773.

JOHN PRNN, Lieutenant Governor, 1773-1776.

#### MARYLAND."

GRORGS CALVERT, First Lord Bultimore, Proprietor, 1632. CARCILLUS CALVERT, Second Lord Baltimore, Proprietor, 1632-1675.

CHARLES CALVERT, Third Lord Baltimore, Proprietor,

BENEDICT LEONARD CALVERT, Fourth Lord Baltimore, Proprietor, 1715.

CHARLES CALVERT, Fifth Lord Bultimore, Proprietor,

PERDERICK, Sixth Lord Baltimore, Proprietor, 1751-1771.

CARCHAUS CALVERT, GOVERNOR, 1632-1654.

LROWARD, CALVERT, GOVERNOR, 1671-1654.

\* Richard Hillerth's History of the United States (Index to Vol. III); Scharf's History of Maryland, Vol. III, tage 776, et seg., Encyclopatia Britannica, 11th Ed., Vol. XVII, page 832 John Lewger, Deputy Governor, 1638.

Cornwallis, Deputy Governor, 1640.

GILES BRENT, Deputy Governor, 1643.

WILLIAM BRAINTHWAITE, Deputy Governor, 1644.

RICHARD INGLE, (usurper), 1645.

EDWARD HILL, Deputy Governor, 1646.

THOMAS GREENE, Deputy Governor, 1647-1648.

WILLIAM STONE, Governor, 1649-1652, 1652-1654.

ROBERT BROOKE, Acting Governor, 1652.

RICHARD BENNET and — MATTHEW, Commissioners under Parliament.

WILLIAM FULLER, Acting Governor as President of Commission, 1654-1658.

Josias Fendall, Governor, 1658-1660.

CAECILIUS CALVERT, Governor, 1661-1675.

PHILIP CALVERT, Governor, 1660-1661.

Charles Calvert, Governor, 1661-1675.

CHARLES, LORD BALTIMORE, 1667.

PHILIP CALVERT, Deputy Governor, 1669-1671.

THOMAS NOTLEY, Deputy Governor, 1675.

CECIL CALVERT, Governor, 1676-1681.

Jesse Wharton, Deputy Governor, 1676–1678.

THOMAS NOTLEY, Deputy Governor, 1676–1679.

Charles, Lord Baltimore, Governor, 1681-1684.

BENEDICT LEONARD CALVERT, Governor, 1684–1688. GEORGE TALBOT, Deputy Governor, 1684–1685.

WILLIAM JOSEPH, President, Acting Governor, 1688-1689.

KENELM CHESELDINE, Acting Governor, 1689.

GEORGE ROBOTHAM, Acting Governor, 1690.

SIR LIONEL COPLEY, Captain General, 1691–1693.

SIR EDMOND ANDROS, Governor, 1693.

NICHOLAS GREENBURY, Acting Governor, 1693.

NATHANIEL BLACKSTONE, 1699-1702.

Francis Nicholson, Governor, 1694–1699.

THOMAS TENCH, President of Council and Acting Governor, 1699–1703.

JOHN SEYMOUR, Governor, 1704-1709.

Edward Lloyd, Acting Governor, 1709-1714.

JOHN HART, Governor, 1714-1720.

JOHN LEWGER, Deputy Governor, 1638.

CORNWALUS, Deputy Governor, 1640.

GILES BRENT, Deputy Governor, 1643.

WILLIAM BRAINTHWAITE, Deputy Governor, 1644.

RICHARD INGLE, (BERTPET), 1645.

THOMAS GREENE, Deputy Governor, 1047-1648.

WILLIAM STONE, Governor, 1649-1652, 1652-1654.
ROBERT BROOKE, Acting Governor, 1652.

RICHARD BRINET and --- MATTHEW, Commissioners

WILLIAM FULLER, Acting Governor as President of Com-

Josias Pennall, Governor, 1658-1660.
CARCILLUS CALVERT, Covernor, 1660-1675.
PRILIP CALVERT, Governor, 1660-1667.
CHARLES CALVERT, Governor, 1661-1675.

CHARLES CALVERT, GOVERNOR, 1661-1675.
CHARLES, LORD BALTIMORE, 1667.

PHILIP CALVERT, Deputy Governor, 1659-1671 Thomas Notley, Deputy Governor, 1675.

CECIL CALVERT, GOVERNOY, 1670-1681.

IESSE WILKLEON, Deculty Governor, 169

THOMAS NOTER, Deputy Governor, 1676-1678.

CHARLES LORD BALEMOOR CONTROL 1676-1679.

BENEDICT LEGNARD CALVERT, COVERNOR, 1584-1688.

WILLIAM JOSEPH, President, Acting Governor, 1688-16

KENEIM CHESELBINE, Acting Governor, 1689
GEORGE ROBOTHAM Acting Governor, 1689

SIR LIONEL COPLEY, Captain General, 1091-1693.

SIR EDMOND ANDROS, GOVERNOR, 1093.

NICHOLAS GREENBUICY, Acting Governor, 1603.

NATHANIEL BLACKSTONE, 1099-1702.

THOMAS TENCH, President of Council and Acting Gov-

IOHN SEYMOUR, GOVERNOR, 1704-1709.
EDWARD LLOYD, Acting Governor, 1700-1

Thomas Brooke, Acting Governor, 1720.
CHARLES CALVERT, Governor, 1720–1727.
BENEDICT LEONARD CALVERT, Governor, 1727–1732.
SAMUEL OGLE, Deputy Governor, 1732, 1735, 1746.
THOMAS BLADEN, Deputy Governor, 1742.
SAMUEL OGLE, Deputy Governor, 1737, 1746, 1747.
BENJAMIN TASKER, President, Acting Governor, 1752.
HORATIO SHARPE, Governor, 1752–1769.
ROBERT EDEN, Governor, 1769–1774.
SIR HENRY HARFORD, Governor, 1771–1776.

## VIRGINIA.\*

SIR WALTER RALEIGH, Lord Proprietor, 1584; Chief Governor of Virginia and Founder of Roanoke Colony, 1585.

RALPH LANE, Governor of Raleigh's First Colony, 1585-

1586.

JOHN WHITE, Governor of Raleigh's Second Colony, 1587. SIR THOMAS SMITH, First President of the London Company, 1605–1607.

EDWARD MARIA WINGFIELD, President of the Council,

1607.

John Radcliffe, President of the Council, 1607–1608.

Capt. John Smith, President of the Council, 1608–
1609.

Matthew Scrivener, Deputy Governor, 1608.

George Percy, President of the Council, 1609–1610; Deputy Governor, 1611.

SIR THOMAS GATES, Lieutenant General and Deputy Governor, 1610; Acting Governor, 1611–1613.

SIR THOMAS WEST, LORD DE LA WARR, Governor and Captain General, 1610-1611.

SIR THOMAS DALE, High Marshall and Acting Governor, 1611.

SIR THOMAS DALE, Acting Governor, 1613-1616.

<sup>\*</sup> Richard Hildreth's History of the United States (Index to Vol. III); Governors of Virginia, Margaret V. Smith (1893); Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Ed., Vol. XXVIII, page 124.

THOMAS BROOKS, Acting Governor, 1720.

CHARLES CALVERT, GOVERNOT, 1720-1727.

BENERHOT LEONARD CALVERT, GOVERNOT, 1737-1732.

SAMUEL OGLE, Deputy GOVERNOT, 1732, 1735, 1746.

THOMAS BLADEN, Deputy GOVERNOT, 1737, 1746, 1747.

SAMUEL OGLE, Deputy GOVERNOT, 1737, 1746, 1747.

BENJAMIN TASKER, President, Acting GOVERNOT, 1752.

HORATIO SHAKER, GOVERNOT, 1753-1769.

ROBKET EDEN, GOVERNOT, 1763-1769.

SIR HENEY HAREORD, GOVERNOT, 1771-1776.

#### VIRGINIA.\*

Str. Walter Ralesch, Lord Proprietor, 1584; Chief Governor of Virginia and Founder of Rosnoke Colony, 1585.

KALPH LANE, Governor of Raisigh's First Colony, 1585-

JOHN WHITE, Governor of Raleigh's Second Colony, 1587.
SR THOMAS SMITH, First President of the London Com-

EDWARD MARIA WINGFIELD, President of the Council,

John Radchere, President of the Council, 1507-1508.
Capt. John Smith, President of the Council, 1508-1600.

MATTHEW SCRIVENER, Deputy Covernor, 1608.

GEORGE PERCY, President of the Council, 1609-1610;

Str Thomas Gares, Lieutenant General and Deputy

SIR THOMAS WEST, LORD DE LA WARR, Governor and

Sir Tuomas Date, High Marshall and Acting Governor,

-1101

Sir Thomas Daur, Acting Governor, 1613-1616.

Richard Hildreth's History of the United States (Index to Vol. III); Governors of Virginia, Margaret V. Smith (1893); Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th Ed., Vol. XXVIII, page 124.

GEORGE YEARDLEY (Captain), Lieutenant Governor, 1616-1617.

Samuel Argall, 1617-1619.

SIR THOMAS SMITH, Acting Governor, 1618.

SIR GEORGE YEARDLEY, Governor and Captain General, 1619–1621.

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL POWELL, President of Council, 1619. SIR FRANCIS WYATT, Governor and Captain General, 1621–1624.

SIR GEORGE YEARDLEY, Governor and Captain General, 1626–1627.

CAPTAIN FRANCIS WEST, Governor and Captain General, 1627–1628.

DR. JOHN POTT, President of Council and Governor, 1628–1629.

SIR JOHN HARVEY, Governor and Captain General, 1629–1635.

Captain John West, President of the Council, 1635–1636. Sir John Harvey, Governor and Captain General, 1636–1639.

SIR FRANCIS WYATT, Governor and Captain General, 1639-1641.

SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY, Governor and Captain General, 1641–1644.

RICHARD KEMPE, President of Council and Acting Governor, 1644–1645.

SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY, Governor, 1645-1652.

RICHARD BENNETT, Acting Governor, 1652-1655.

WILLIAM CLAIBORNE, Deputy Governor, 1653.

EDWARD DIGGES, President of Council and Governor, 1655-1658.

Captain Samuel Matthews, President of the Council, 1657–1660.

SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY, Governor, 1660-1677.

Colonel Francis Morrison [Moryson], Deputy or Lieutenant Governor, 1661–1662.

SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY, Governor, 1662-1677.

SIR HERBERT JEFFREYS, Lieutenant Governor, 1677-1678.

SIR HENRY CHICHELEY, Deputy Governor, 1678-1680.

GEORGE (YEARDLEY (Captain), Lieutenant Governor, 1616-1617.

SAMUEL ARGALL, 1017-1619.

SIR THOMAS SMITH, Acting Governor, 1518.

SIR GRONGE VEARDLEY, Governor and Captain General,

CAPTAIN NATHAMBL POWBLL, President of Council, 1619.
SIR FRANCIS WYATE, GOWERNOT and Captain General.

Sir Grorge Yeardley, Governor and Captain General, 1626-1627.

CAPTAIN FRANCIS WEST, Governor and Captain General, 1627-1628.

DR. Joun Port, President of Council and Governor, 1648-1649.

Sir John Harvey, Governor and Captain General, 1620-1635.

CAPTAIN JOHN WEST, President of the Council, 1635-1636.
Str. John Harvey, Governor and Captain General, 1636-

Sir Francis Wyatt, Covernor and Captain General, 1630-1641.

Sir William Berkhler, Governor and Captain General, 1641-1644.

RICHARD KEMPE, President of Council and Acting Covernor, 1644-1645.

SIR WILLIAM BRIERELEY, GOVERNOR, 1645-1659.

RICHARD BENNETT, Acting Governor, 1652-1655.

WILLIAM CLAIBORNE, Departy Governor, 1653.

EDWARD Discres. President of Council and Governor.

1655-1658.
CAPTAIN SANDEL MATTHEWS. President of the Council.

Captain Samuel Maithews, President of the Council, 1657-1650.

SIR WILLIAM BERRELEY, GOVERNOR, 1669-1677.

Colonge Francis Morrison [Morrison], Deputy or Lieutenant Governor, 1661-1662.

SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY, GOVERNOR, 1662-1679.

Sir Herbert Jermens, Licutenant Governor, 1677-1678.
Sir Herry Chicheler, Deputy Governor, 1678-1680.

THOMAS, LORD CULPEPPER, Governor and Captain General, 1680–1683.

NICHOLAS SPENCER, President of Council, 1683–1684. Francis, Lord Howard, Baron Effingham, Lieutenant Governor, 1684–1687.

NATHANIEL BACON, President of Council, 1687–1690. SIR FRANCIS NICHOLSON, Lieutenant Governor, 1690–1602.

SIR EDMUND ANDROS, Governor General, 1692–1698. SIR FRANCIS NICHOLSON, Lieutenant Governor, 1698–1704.

EARL OF ORKNEY, (GEORGE HAMILTON DOUGLAS), Governor in Chief, 1704-1737.

EDWARD NOTT, Lieutenant Governor, 1705–1706. EDMUND JENINGS, President of Council, 1706–1710. ROBERT HUNTER, Lieutenant Governor, 1707.

ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD, Lieutenant Governor, 1710-1722.

Hugh Drysdale, Lieutenant Governor, 1722–1726.
Robert Carter, President of the Council, 1726–1727.
Sir William Gooch, Lieutenant Governor, 1727–1740,
1741–1749.

COMMISSARY JAMES BLAIR, President of Council, 1740-1741.

John Robinson, President of Council, 1749. Thomas Lee, President of Council, 1749–1750. Lewis Burwell, President of Council, 1751.

WILLIAM ANNE KEPPEL, (SECOND EARL OF ALBEMARLE), Governor in Chief, 1737-1754.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE, Lieutenant Governor, 1751-1758.

JOHN CAMPBELL, EARL OF LOUDON, 1756-1763. JOHN BLAIR, President of Council, 1758, 1768.

Francis Fauquier, Lieutenant Governor, 1758-1768.

SIR JEFFREY AMHERST, Governor in Chief, 1763-1768.

Norborne Berkeley, Baron de Botetourt, Governor in Chief, 1768–1770.

WILLIAM NELSON, President of Council, 1770-1771.

JOHN MURRAY, EARL DUNMORE, Governor in Chief,
1771-1775.

THOMAS, LORD CULPEPPER, GOVERNOR and Captain General, 1686-1683.

Nicholas Structu, President of Council, 1683-1684.

Prancis, Lord Howard, Baron Erringham, Lieutenaut

Governor, 1684-1687.

NATHANIBL BACON, President of Council, 1687-1690. She PRANCIS Nicholson, Lieutenant Governor, 1690-1602.

Sir Edmund Andros, Governor Ceneral, 1602-1608.
Sir Francis Nichelson, Lientenant Governor, 1698-

EARE OF ORENEY, (GEORGE HAMBTON DOUGLAS), Gov-

EDWARD NOTE, Lieutenant Governor, 1705-1706.

ROBERT HUNTER, Lieutenant Governor, 1709-171

ALEXANDER Sporswood, Lieutenant Governor, 1710-

HUGH DRYSDALE, Lieutenant Governor, 1722-1726.
ROBERT CARTER, President of the Council, 1726-1727.
SIR WILLIAM GOOCH, Licutenant Governor, 1727-1740.

1741-1749.

COMMISSARY JAMES BLAIR, President of Council, 1740-

JOHN ROBINSON, President of Council, 1749. THOMAS LEE, President of Council, 1749-1750.

LEWIS BURWELL, President of Council, 17511
WILLIAM ANNE KEPPEL, (SECOND EARL OF ALERUARIES)

Governor in Chief, 1737-1754.

ROBERT DINWIDDE, Lieutemant Governor, 1751-1758.

JOHN CAMPRELL, EARL OF LOUDON, 1750-1763.

JOHN BLAIS President of Council 1558.

FRANCIS PAUGUIER, Lientenant Governor, 1758-1768.

SIR JEFFREY AMMREST, Governor in Chief, 1763-1768.

NORBORNE BERKELEY, BARON DE BOTETOURT, GOVERNO

in Chief, 1768-1770.

WILLIAM NELSON, President of Council, 1970-1771.

JOHN MURRAY, EARL DUNNORE, GOVERNOR in Chief,
1771-1775.

#### NORTH CAROLINA.\*

### GOVERNORS OF ALBEMARLE.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND, 1663-1667. SAMUEL STEPHENS, 1667-1669. PETER CARTERET, 1660-1673. GEORGE CARTRIGHT, 1673. SIR GEORGE CARTERET, 1674. JOHN JENKINS, 1673-1676, 1679-1681. THOMAS MILLER, 1677-1678. SIR THOMAS EASTCHURCH, 1676-1677. JOHN HARVEY, 1678-1679. HENRY WILKINSON, 1681-1683. SETH SOTHEL, 1683-1689. PHILIP LUDWELL, 1689-1693.

DEPUTY GOVERNORS OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Major Alexander Lillington, 1691-1694. JOHN ARCHDALE, 1604.

THOMAS HARVEY, 1694-1699.

HENDERSON WALKER, 1699-1704.

ROBERT DANIEL, 1704-1705.

THOMAS CAREY, 1705-1706, 1707-1710.

WILLIAM GLOVER, 1706-1707.

EDWARD HYDE, 1710, 1712.

COLONEL THOMAS POLLOCK, 1712-1714; Governor, 1722.

WILLIAM REID, 1722-1724.

CHARLES EDEN, 1714; Governor, 1722.

GEORGE BURRINGTON, 1724-1725.

SIR RICHARD EVERHARD, 1725-1729.

## GOVERNORS UNDER THE CROWN.

GEORGE BURRINGTON, 1731-1734. GABRIEL JOHNSTON, 1734-1752.

NATHANIEL RICE, 1734, 1752-1753.

COLONEL MATHEW ROWAN, Acting, 1753-1754.

<sup>\*</sup> Richard Hildreth's History of the United States (Index to Vol. III); Moore's History of North Carolina; Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Ed., Vol. XIX, page 778.

#### NORTH CAROLINA.\*

COVERNORS OF ALBEMARIE

William Drumbond, 1663-1667.

Samuel Stephens, 1667-1669.

Peter Cartrer, 1669-1673.

George Cartricut, 1673.

Sir George Cartrer, 1674.

John Jenrins, 1673-1676, 1679-1681.

Thomas Milear, 1677-1678.

Sir Thomas Eastchurch, 1676-1677.

John Harvey, 1678-1679.

Henry Wilkinson, 1681-1683.

Seth Sothel, 1683-1689.

Philip Ludwell, 1689-1693.

Deputy Governors of North Carolina.

Major Alexander Lillington, 1691–1694.

John Archdalb, 1694.

Thomas Harvey, 1694–1699.

Hendreson Walker, 1690–1704.

Robert Daniel, 1704–1705.

Thomas Carey, 1705–1706, 1707–1710.

William Glover, 1706–1707.

Edward Hyde, 1710, 1712.

Coloned Thomas Poleock, 1712–1714; Governor, 1722.

Charles Edri, 1723–1724.

Charles Edri, 1723–1724.

Charles Edrin, 1714; Governor, 1722.

George Burrington, 1724–1725.

Sir Richard Everbard, 1724–1726.

GRORGH BURRINGTON, 1731-1734.

GABRIEL JOHNSTON, 1734-1752.

NATHANIEL RICE, 1724, 1752-1755.

COLONED MATHEW ROWAN, Acting, 1753-1754.

<sup>\*</sup> Richard Hildreth's Nestory of the United States (Index to Vol. 111); Moore's History of North Carolino; Encyclopadia Prilannica, 11th Ed., Vol. XIX, page 778.

ARTHUR DOBBS, 1754-1765.
WILLIAM TYRON, Lieutenant Governor, 1765-1771.
JOSIAH MARTIN, 1771-1775.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.\*

Governors.

SIR JOHN YEAMANS, Governor, 1664-1665. WILLIAM SAYLE, 1670-1671. Toseph West, Acting, 1671-1672. SIR JOHN YEAMANS, 1672-1674. TOSEPH WEST, 1674-1682. TOSEPH MORTON, 1682-1684. SIR RICHARD KYRLE, 1684. COLONEL ROBERT QUARRY, 1684-1685. JOSEPH WEST, 1685. JOSEPH MORTON, 1686. JAMES COLLETON, 1680-1600, Landgrave. SETH SOTHELL, 1600-1602. PHILIP LUDWELL, 1602-1603. THOMAS SMITH, 1603-1604, Landgrave. JOSEPH BLAKE, Acting, 1604. JOHN ARCHDALE, 1694-1696. JOSEPH BLAKE, Lieutenant Governor, 1696-1700. TAMES MOORE, 1700-1702. SIR NATHANIEL JOHNSON, 1702-1710. COLONEL EDWARD TYNTE, 1710. ROBERT GIBBES, 1710-1711. CHARLES CRAVEN, 1711-1716. ROBERT DANIEL, Deputy Governor, 1716-1717. ROBERT JOHNSON, 1717-1719. TAMES MOORE, 1719-1721. SIR FRANCIS NICHOLSON, 1721-1729. ARTHUR MIDDLETON, Acting, 1724; Governor, 1729. ROBERT JOHNSON, 1729-1735.

<sup>\*</sup> Richard Hildreth's History of the United States (Index to Vol. III); History of South Carolina, by David Ramsey, M.D. (1809); History of South Carolina under Proprietary and Royal Government, by Edward McCrady (1899); Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Ed., Vol. XXV, page 505.

ARTHOR DOBBS, 1754-1765.
WILLIAM TYRON, Licutement Governor, 1765-1771.
JOSIAH MARTIN, 1771-1775.

#### SOUTH CAROLINA.\*

Governors,

<sup>\*</sup>Richard Hildreth's History of the United States (Linder to Vol. 18); History of South Carolina, by David Ramsay, M.D. (1809); Listory of South Carolina under Proprietary and Royal Generalists, by Edward Me-Cardy (1809); Encyclopedia Brotonnica, 11th Ed., Vol. MXV, page 305.

THOMAS BROUGHTON, Lieutenant Governor, 1735–1738. SAMUEL HORSLEY, (non resident), 1738.

WILLIAM BULL, Lieutenant Governor, 1737-1743.

JAMES GLEN, 1743-1756.

WILLIAM HENRY LYTTLETON, LORD WESTCOTT, 1756-1760.

WILLIAM BULL (the second), Lieutenant Governor, 1759–1775; Acting, 1760–1761, 1773–1775.

THOMAS POWNALL (non-resident), 1760.

THOMAS BOONE, 1761-1764.

WILLIAM BULL, Lieutenant Governor, 1763-1769.

LORD CHARLES GREVILLE MONTAGUE, Acting, 1768-1769.

JOHN RUTLEDGE, 1775.

LORD WILLIAM CAMPBELL, 1775-1776.

Henry Laurens, President of Council of Safety, 1775-1776.

#### GEORGIA.\*

James Edward Oglethorpe, Governor, 1732–1743. William Stephens, Acting Governor, 1743–1751. Henry Parker, President, 1751–1753. Patrick Graham, Governor, 1753–1754. John Reynolds, Governor, 1754. Henry Ellis, Governor, 1757. Sir James Wright, Governor, 1760–1782. William Ewen, 1775. Archibald Bullock, Acting Governor, 1776. Button Gwinnett, President, 1777. Jonathan Bryan, President, 1777.

<sup>\*</sup> Richard Hildreth's History of the United States (Index to Vol. III); Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. XI, page 758.

THOMAS BROUGHTON, Lieutemant Governor, 1735-1738.
SAMURL HORSLRY, (non resident), 1738.

William Buil, Lieutenant Covernor, 1737-1743.

WILLIAM HRNRY LYTTLETON, LORD WHSTCOTT, 1756-

WILLIAM BULL (the second), Licutenant Covernor, 1750-

1775; Acung, 1700-1701, 1773-1775

PHOMAS POWNALL (non-resident), 1960.

THOMAS BOONE, 1761-1764.

WILLIAM BULL, Lieutenant Governor, 1763-1769.

LORD CHARLES GERVILLE MONTAGUE, Acting, 1768-

1709.

LORD WILLIAM CAMPBELL 1775-1796.

HENRY LAURENS, President of Council of Safety, 1775-1776.

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<sup>\*</sup> Richard Hildacth's History of the United States (Index to Vol. III); Eucyclopedia Britanana, Vol. XI, page 758.

# Addresses

Delivered before the Council of the Society with the exception of that of Sydney George Fisher, Esq., which was delivered at an annual dinner.

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# The Calverts,

Lords Baltimore and Proprietors of Maryland.

By Samuel Davis Page.

Read December 5, 1910.

More than two hundred and seventy-seven years ago the little "Ark" and the smaller "Dove" sailed from Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, freighted with much for the world, and for this part of it in particular.

In this year of grace, nineteen centuries since the death and rising again of Him whom the Prophet Jeremiah called "the Lord our Righteousness," with the angel of peace brooding over the waters of the earth and all the nations bordering on those waters proclaiming charity and good will to man, though ready to enforce it by 20,000-ton battleships if necessary, with a religious and political toleration and liberty hitherto unknown. it is difficult for us to realize religious and political conditions in England following the accession to the throne of good Queen Bess by Scotland's Mary's son, often called "the wisest fool in Europe," who, though he gave us "King James' Version of the Bible," was yet so uncertain of his own faith as necessary to the salvation not only of his soul, but of his crown, as to weakly yield himself to the persuasions of churchmen, papists, puritans and independents, each in turn, as the necessities of the situation might demand. In the interest of the Established Church in England, cruelty and injustice were perpetrated as gross as that inflicted by the Inquisition in Spain, each in the name and for the advancement of religion—with this difference, however, that in England, in the early third of the seventeenth century, men were hanged with no charge against them but papistry, while the temper of the nation often required a political offense to justify severity to a Protestant dissenter. Church-

## The Calberts.

# LORDS BALTIMORE AND PROPRIETORS OF MARYLAND.

By Saurel Davis Page. Read December 5, 1910.

More than two hundred and seventy-seven years ago the little "Ark" and the smaller "Dove" sailed from Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, freighted with much for the

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men, prelates, priests and laymen, often to keep their own necks and property, fawned upon their king and incited him to severity against their fellow-subjects on the ground that on the plea of conscience they were disloyal to the crown under their allegiance to the Pope of Rome, or disturbers of the State in obedience to the dictates of a lawgiver higher than any earthly potentate. A king so flattered could brook no rival in earth or heaven. Under the doctrine of the divine right of kings, carried to its logical conclusion, "a servile people ruled by an irresponsible sovereign, whose lightest wish was law, seemed to them to realize on earth the pattern of the divine government."

In the midst of such conditions, George Calvert, who had about attained his majority on the accession of James I, developed into an able man, a good citizen and an honest servant of the State, proving himself so valuable to his king as principal secretary of state, that when he resigned the seals of office, on becoming a Roman Catholic, his master refused to receive them and continued him in office, even raising him to the Irish peerage as Baron Baltimore in 1625. Political success, abundant wealth, social position, courtly favor could not bring content to George Calvert, as he contemplated the condition of his country, the cruel restraints of conscience and the harsh exactions on the pretense of religion, under which he and his co-religionists suffered; these exactions, indeed, rising under the law to £20 each lunar month for permission to worship God, as had the mother of the king, without let or hindrance; the fines being often compromised by the payment of a gross sum, which sometimes went to the maintenance of the favorites of the court in vice and extravagance; he therefore sought and obtained from the king a grant to plant in Newfoundland a colony he named "Avalon," going thither himself with his wife and children in 1625, and expending upon the venture £35,000 of his own money, which in current values would amount to £70,000, or \$350,000.

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Owing to the unfavorable climate and soil of Newfoundland he returned to England; but seeking still to found the colony he planned, sailed for Virginia, reaching Jamestown on October 1, 1629, with his wife and children, where he received so inhospitable a welcome—the colony already established there fearing that his plans might interfere with the original grants to the Virginia Company—he again returned to England and sought a charter for a new colony from Charles I in the land just north of Virginia, but unfortunately died in London, April 15, 1632, before it had passed the great seals. June of that year, however, that charter was reissued to his son, Cecilius or Cecil Calvert, who, on the death of his father, became the second Lord Baltimore, and who, under that charter, became the real founder of the Colony of Maryland. By that charter Maryland was created a palatinate, the grantee being vested with quasi-royal powers, the charter, indeed, granting almost an absolute sovereignty, with right of taxation, administration of justice and issuance of all writs in the name of the proprietor, the grant including the whole of the present State of Maryland. Such a grant was proof of the confidence and affection of the royal house for both George Calvert and his son Cecilius, the latter being therein described as "treading in the footsteps of his father."

The second Baron Baltimore never visited America, but, under the impulse of his father's example and teachings, fitted out an expedition at his own cost of £40,000—nigh \$400,000 of our money—which sailed in the "Ark," of about three hundred and fifty tons, and manned by about forty men, and in a pinnace called the "Dove," of about fifty tons—ships fitly named as bearing religious freedom and the olive branch of peace to the new world. Andrew White, one of the two Jesuit priests embarking therein—John Altham being the other—writes in his journal: "On the 22d day of the month of November, 1633, being St. Cecilia's Day, we set sail from Cowes in the Isle of Wight with a gentle east wind blowing;" while George Calvert writes to his friend Wentworth,

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Earl of Stafford, on the 10th of January following: "There are two of my brothers gone with twenty other gentlemen of very good fashion and 300 laboring men well provided in all things." This expedition, under the command of Leonard Calvert as lieutenant-governor or general, landed on an island at the mouth of the Potomac on the 25th of March, 1634, where they planted the cross and first celebrated mass; on the twenty-seventh day of March, 1634, they founded the town of St. Mary's on the east bank of the Potomac, and here, as Bancroft says, "religious liberty obtained a home, its only home in the wide world, at the humble village which bears the name of St. Mary's."

For some years Maryland's history is the history of beneficence, gratitude and toleration, only to be disturbed by William Claiborne, claiming title to the Island of Kent, in the Chesapeake, and some years later, by the Wars of the Commonwealth in England, when the little colony had great difficulty in maintaining itself. The Toleration Act, passed in 1649, formulating in a statute what had been the uniform policy of the province, was shortly afterward rescinded, and Maryland placed under the control of Puritan emigrants, some of whom, on being driven out of Virginia and asking an asylum in Maryland, had been allowed to settle in Anne Arundel County, founding the city of Annapolis. Such people had no use for a statute forbidding the molestation or discountenance of any believer in Christ on account of his religion or in its free exercise. The Protector, Cromwell, however, on the recommendation of commissioners, to whom the matter was referred, reinstated Lord Baltimore in his authority, and Maryland had no serious trouble until 1690, when an apostate clergyman, embroiling the people through lying rumors, seized the government; but King William, being petitioned to do so, took the government into his own hands through royal governors until 1716, when it was restored to Charles Calvert, fifth Lord Baltimore, a Protestant.

Whatever may have been the course of the govern-

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ment of their successors, certainly the first two Barons Baltimore placed the people of Maryland and the world at large under a great debt of gratitude, and stamped their seal of religious toleration on the shores of the Chesapeake from the Potomac to the ocean, duly acknowledged in the great seal of the State of Maryland; an escutcheon with the bearings of the Calvert and Crossland families surmounted by a coronet, symbolic of the palatinate authority, a farmer and a fisherman being the supporters.

Of men like Leonard and George Calvert the younger, and the "twenty other gentlement of very good fashion" and their fellow-adventurers, of whom the second Lord Baltimore wrote, coming here, some for religious freedom, some for political liberty and some for material success, you, the gentlemen of the Council of the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Pennsylvania, and the members of the same society in the other States of the

Union, are descended.

Looking back to these men from whom we trace our lineage, we are astonished at the daring and the doing of those we call our forefathers. The courage that bore them across the Atlantic from the then centers of civilization to the savage wildernesses bordering the western shores of that mighty and fearsome ocean, in boats that must have appeared as mere cockleshells on the bosom of that great deep, to face the unknown dangers awaiting them, to overcome the obstacles both of nature and of man here confronting them, is worthy of our highest admiration and deepest respect. These men came so far and dared so much, often fleeing from the restrictions and constrictions of their religious freedom and individual independence, seeking room in these greater spaces to burgeon out to the full stature of their manhood, to a better development of their mental and moral strength. Here, in the struggle for existence, in the subjugation of nature, in the pacification of savagery, in the building of homes, in the construction of government, they developed their mental, moral and physical muscle so that in ment of their successors, certainly the first two Barons Baltimore placed the people of Maryland and the world at large under a great debt of gratitude, and stamped their seal of religious toleration on the shores of the Chesapeake from the Potomac to the ocean, duly acknowledged in the great seal of the State of Maryland; an escutcheon with the bearings of the Calvert and Crossland families surmounted by a coronet, symbolic of the palutinate authority, a farmer and a fisherman being the supporters.

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the process of time, by the united efforts of their descendants there was created here a form of government to be a model for the ages, the envy of mankind and an inspiration to the oppressed of all nations. It was natural that from the loins of such men should spring the heroes of the Colonial Wars, the patriots of the Revolution, and that there should come down to us from them such traditions of the past as might regulate our conduct in the present and invoke our best efforts for the future. Liberty was what our ancestors sought; ideals were what many of them fought for; freedom of the individual was what they taught; and we, their descendants, for nigh a century and a half have been enjoying what they reached.

Forgetful of these men, who did play the part of men. many of their descendants, and others who know them not and care less for them or their deeds, seem today to think that no individual effort is demanded to keep that which we have received, to preserve the blessings which we have inherited; and indeed there is a large class of our fellow-citizens who seem to think that all that concerns them in the conduct of public affairs is the personal and material benefit which they may be able to secure from it for themselves or their associates; willing to forego the privileges of manhood and the honors of citizenship, and to use the right of suffrage in the selection of the creatures of political bosses, who may have had no ancestors to speak of, or such as had nothing in common with those of whom we boast: until today a large mass of the electorate never think of thinking for themselves at all as to any question of better government, the public good or the higher development of the people; and there are a few, who, wearying of the effort to play the part of men, for which they seem to have been so ill-chosen and worse suited, are cowardly whispering among themselves that it would be better to have a strong government, which would exercise such paternalism towards like weaklings of the State as might dispense with all individual initiative and produce an artificial condition of society, where

the process of time, by the united efforts of their descendants there was created here a form of government to be a model for the ages, the envy of mankind and an inspiration to the oppressed of all nations. It was natural that from the foins of such men should spring the heroes of the Colonial Wars, the patriots of the Revolution, and that there should come down to us from them such traditions of the past as might regulate our conduct in the present and invoke our best efforts for the future. Liberty was what our ancestors sought; ideals were what many of them fought for; freedom of the individual was what they taught; and we, their descendants, for nigh a century and a half have been enjoying what

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Forgetful of these men, who did play the part of men, which we have received, to preserve the blessings which we have inherited; and indeed there is a large class of our them in the conduct of public affairs is the personal and of political bosses, who may have lied no ancestors to whom we boast; until today a large mass of the electorate the ultimate happiness and highest good of the individual would depend not so much upon the operation of the organic law as upon the personal thought and action of those in the control of governmental powers; leading naturally, logically and irresistibly to a despotism, however amiably and intelligently conducted; having, perhaps, reached the conclusion that that would be the best form of government, even though in the language of the cynic it might be necessary that it should be regulated by assassination.

God forbid that the travesties of republican government, from Cape Horn to the southern boundary of these United States, should find their counterpart north of that line, and should only reach their farthest limit this side of the decent, orderly and natural operation in the Dominion of Canada of those fundamental laws of government which constitute what is called the British Constitution—an ideal entity, however, having no actual existence save

in the hearts and thoughts of the people.

We, as members of the Colonial Societies in the various commonwealths of these United States, would prove unworthy of our ancestry and would confirm the suspicion that our boast thereof smacks of vulgar ostentation and display, if we did not do our best to resist such a consummation and show by our actions that we hold fast to the traditions of the fathers and are content to abide by their teachings and to live under the laws they have handed down to us, and prove by our walk and conversation that their blood still flows in our veins and that our hearts still beat true to their ideals.

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## Sir Walter Raleigh,

CHIEF GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA AND FOUNDER OF ROANOKE COLONY, 1585.

By Joseph Ingersoll Doran.

Read February 6, 1911.

At this day, after the lapse of nearly three hundred years from his death, I know of no other historical character about whom and whose career there are still so many things to be satisfactorily explained than Sir Walter Raleigh. Much about him in the way of the records of his time has been examined and much has been written about him, but even now, in the cooler judgment of a later day, it is difficult to express any view about many of his actions and parts of his career without introducing questions that lead to controversy.

He was the product and exemplar of that heroic period of the Anglo-Saxon race—the Elizabethan era. There were giants in those days—in mind, character and action. With them all, they had the faults of human nature—faults made conspicuous of the men themselves by reason of their very pre-eminence. Raleigh, with all his faults, as one of our generation might construe some of his actions, stands admittedly prominent among those giants as a leading figure on the stage of his period.

An explanation may be this: the invention of printing, which was diffusing knowledge widely, was giving robust vitality to the growth of political and intellectual freedom, and that freedom had rapidly developed men of vigorous thought and strong conviction, with ability in diction to express what they meant to say in language simple, concise and manly. No doubt that mental virility and activity imparted sturdy characteristics to the great men of England of that era, and if that be true, it would only be natural that while in theological controversies and on questions of general political

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character they presented practically an united front to their antagonists, yet as to matters between such men as individuals, these diversities in mind and character and their zeal in their own enterprises and ambitions resulted in serious differences of opinion and in conflicts personal in their nature.

Then, too, as Macaulay in his "Essay on Bacon," says of the statesmen of England of that period:

"It is impossible to deny that they committed many acts which would justly bring on a statesman of our own time censures of the most serious kind. But when we consider the state of morality in their age, and the unscrupulous character of the adversaries against whom they had to contend, we are forced to admit that it is not without reason that their names are still held in veneration by their countrymen."

However all this may be, Raleigh, with all his faults and with all his mistakes, was an extraordinary man, one of the great men of the world's history, who united in himself as many kinds of glory as were ever combined in an individual. His faults, whatever they were, were all blotted out when his noble head was brought to the block, and the memory of the world has perpetuated only his greatness. He was great as a soldier, great as a sailor, great as an explorer, great as a writer, great as a statesman, great as a historian, great as a philosopher, and above all, great as a patriot.

Macaulay refers to him as ("Burleigh and His Times"— Macaulay's Works, Vol. v, page 611):

"Raleigh, the soldier, the sailor, the scholar, the courtier, the orator, the poet, the historian, the philosopher, whom we picture to ourselves sometimes reviewing the Queen's Guard, sometimes giving chase to a Spanish galleon, then answering the chiefs of the country party in the House of Commons, then again murmuring one of his sweet love-songs too near the ears of her Highness' maids of honor, and soon after poring over the Talmud, or collating Polybius with Livy."

The luminous chapter on Raleigh by Wm. Wirt Henry in Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America (Vol. III, Chapter IV) opens with this:

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"History has recorded the lives of few men more renowned than Walter Raleigh,—the soldier, the sailor, the statesman, the courtier, the poet, the historian, and the philosopher. The age in which he lived, the versatility of his genius, his conspicuous services, and 'the deep damnation of his taking-off,' all conspired to exalt his memory among men, and to render it immortal. Success often crowned his efforts in the service of his country, and the impress of his genius is clearly traced upon her history; but his greatest service to England and to the world was his pioneer effort to colonize America, in which he experienced the most mortifying defeat. Baffled in his endeavor to plant the English race upon this continent, he yet called into existence a spirit of enterprise which first gave Virginia, and then North America, to that race, and which led Great Britain, from this beginning, to dot the map of the world with her colonies, and through them to become the greatest power of the earth."

It cannot be controverted that he was the first Englishman who attempted to plant a colony in America, and, though the attempt failed, it pointed the way to the success of later adventurers. Raleigh's whole career was a series of similar romantic enterprises, glorious but unfortunate.

Though many great men of that heroic period contributed their labors and their means to the settlement of America, we can say that more is due to Sir Walter Raleigh than to any other one man for the foothold that was there taken and kept by the English-speaking people.

"It is proper to regard Sir Walter Raleigh as the first founder of our nation. Although that great man never set foot upon our shores, although his utmost efforts did not succeed in planting a self-supporting colony here, it was, nevertheless, he that began the series of operations that led directly to the founding of the Colony at Jamestown." John Fiske: Colonization of the New World, History of All Nations, Lea Bros. & Co., Vol. XXI, page 242.

Born in the year 1552, Raleigh grew to manhood and lived while England was readjusting itself to the results of and the conditions created by the Reformation, and was making a sturdy progress in the growth of mental and political freedom. Spain represented the opposing force of spiritual domination and arbitrary government.

England was then comparatively a small and weak nation, practically without colonial possessions. But there had been aroused in her people a restless spirit of dis-

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It cannot be controverted that he was the first Englishman who attempted to plant a colony in America, and, though the attempt failed, it pointed the way to the success of later adventurers. Raleigh's whole career was a series of similar romantic enterprises, glorious but unfortunate.

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"It is proper to regard Sir Walter Rakigh as the first founder of our nation. Although that great man never set foot upon our shores, although his utmost efforts did not succeed in planting a self-supporting colony here, it was, nevertheless, he that began the series of operations that led directly to the founding of the Colony at Jamestown." John Fishe: Colonization of the New World, thistown." John Fishe: Colonization of the New World, thistory of All Nations, Lea Bres. & Co., Vol. xxi., page 2xe.

Born in the year 1552, Kalcigh grew to manhood and lived while England was readjusting itself to the results of and the conditions created by the Reformation, and was making a sturdy progress in the growth of mental and political freedom. Spain represented the opposing force of spiritual domination and arbitrary government.

England was then comparatively a small and weak nation, practically without colonial possessions. But there had been aroused in her people a restless spirit of dis-

covery, commercial enterprise and colonization, producing a class of courageous voyagers, merchant adventurers and seafaring men.

Spain was the dominant power among nations, with colonies and possessions dotted all over the then known world, and these, by robbery, atrocious cruelties and bloody massacres, she held and ruled in spiritual and political fetters.

"Now, if ever," referring to Philip II, King of Spain, in 1581, "there seemed a chance of his being able to crush his enemies by mere force and wealth. All America, all Africa, vast rich territories in Asia, the finest Atlantic ports in Europe, with trade and mineral wealth unbounded, were his; and the mere contemplation of the power thus acquired by him drove Elizabeth of England and Catharine de Medici both into a panic." Cambridge Modern History, Vol. 3, page 500.

Bacon, in his "Advertisement touching a Holy War," said:

"The sun never sets in Spanish dominions but ever shines upon part or other of them."

To crush out the awakened spirit in England hostile to every characteristic of Spanish power and influence, and to extend Spanish domination over England and to crush its power, was the evident and fixed purpose of Spain. Spain's attitude to English power, to English commerce, to the extension of the possessions of England, to the freedom of religious and political thought, was more than hostile—the eventual outcomes of which was war.

On the mere authority of Papal bulls, Spain was claiming a right to extend its power over illimitable areas of an unknown world, and a right to the throne of England itself. In 1570 a Papal bull declared "Elizabeth deposed and her subjects absolved from their allegiance."

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Spain had become a dreadful shadow over the English people.

It is no wonder, then, that an implacable hatred existed between England and Spain, and that when the atrocious cruelties of Spain had driven the Netherlands into revolt substantial sympathy and active encouragement was openly given by the people of England to the rebellion. Dutch privateers had shelter in the English harbors, Englishmen fitted out privateers to attack the vessels of Spain, and the best young men of England went to the low countries and received their training as soldiers in fighting the battles of the Dutch. Spanish galleons returning to Spain, loaded with gold and silver robbed from the natives of America, were considered fair for capture by the privateers of England. It had been stolen by the Spanish and the privateers argued that they therefore had as much right to it as Spain.

At last these conditions resulted in war between Spain and England, a war, in its practical state, that commenced in May, 1585, and continued twenty years, until June 25, 1605, when the treaty of peace of 1604–1605 between Spain and England was signed.

Let me here read what John Fiske says:

"It is worth our while here to pause for a moment and remark upon the size and strength of the nation that was so soon to contend successfully for the mastery of the sea. There is something so dazzling in the brilliancy of the age of Queen Bess, it is so crowded with romantic incidents, it fills so large a place in our minds, that we hardly realize how small England then was according to modern standards of measurement. Two centuries earlier, in the reign of Edward III, the population of England had reached about 5,000,000, when the Black Death at one fell swoop destroyed at least half the number. In Elizabeth's time the loss had just about been repaired. Her England was therefore slightly less populous, and it was surely far less wealthy, than either New York or Pennsylvania in 1890. The Dutch Netherlands had perhaps somewhat fewer people than England, but surpassed her in wealth. These two allies were pitted against the greatest military power that had existed in Europe since the days of Constantine the Great. To many the struggle seemed hopeless. For England the true policy was limited by circumstances. She could send troops across the Channel to help the Dutch in their stubborn resistance, but to try to land a force in the Spanish peninsula for aggressive warfare would be sheer madness.

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The shores of America and the open sea were the proper field of war for England. Her task was to paralyze the giant by cutting off his supplies, and in this there was hope of success, for no defensive fleet, however large, could watch all Philip's enormous possessions at once. The English navy, first permanently organized under Henry VIII, grew rapidly in Elizabeth's reign under the direction of her incomparable seamen; and the policy she adopted was crowned with such success that Philip II lived to see his treasury bankrupt."—Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, Vol. I,

page 21.

'But the day of judgment for Spain and England was at hand, and lesser things must wait. Amid the turmoil of military preparation, Sir Walter was not unmindful of his little colony. Twice he fitted out relief expeditions, but the first was stopped because all the ships were seized for government service, and the second was driven back into port by Spanish cruisers. While the anxious governor waited through the lengthening days into the summer of 1588, there came, with its imperious haste, its deadly agony and fury, its world-astounding triumph, the event most tremendous, perhaps, that mankind have witnessed since the star of the Wise Men stood over the stable at Bethlehem. Then you might have seen the sea kings working in good fellowship together—Drake and Hawkins, Winter and Frobisher, with Howard of Effingham in the Channel fleet; Raleigh and Grenville active alike in council and afield; the two great ministers, Burghley and Walsingham, ever crafty and vigilant; and in the background on her white palfrey the eccentric figure of the strangely wayward and wilful but always brave and patriotic queen. Even after three centuries it is with bated breath that we watch those 130 black hulks coming up the Channel, with 3000 cannon and 30,000 men on board, among them ninety executioners withal, equipped with racks and thumbscrews, to inaugurate on English soil the accursed work of the Inquisition. In camp at Dunkirk the greatest general of the age, Alexander Farnese, with 35,000 veterans is crouching for a spring, like a still greater general at Boulogne in later days; and one wonders if the 80,000 raw militia slowly mustering in the busy little towns and green hamlets of England can withstand these well-trained warriors.

"In the English fleet there were about as many ships as the enemy had, much smaller in size and inferior in weight of metal, but at the same time far more nimble in movement. Of cannon and men the English had scarcely half as many as the Spaniards, but this disparity was more than offset by one great advantage. Our forefathers had already begun to display the inventive ingenuity for which their descendants in both hemispheres have since become pre-eminent. Many of their ships were armed with new guns, of longer range than any hitherto known, and this advantage, combined with their greater nimbleness, made it possible in many cases to pound a Spanish ship to pieces without receiving any serious hurt in return. In such respects, as well as in the seamanship by which the two fleets were handled, it was modern intelligence pitted against mediæval chivalry. Such captains as served Elizabeth were not reared under the blighting shadow of the Escurial. With the discomfiture of the Invincible Armada before Dunkirk, the Army of Farnese at once became useless for invading England. Then came the awful discovery that the mighty fleet was penned up in the German Ocean, for Drake held the Strait of Dover in his iron grip. The horrors of the long retreat through northern seas have never been equalled save when Napoleon's hosts were shattered in Russia. In the disparity of losses, as in the immensity of the issues at stake, we are reminded of the Greeks and Persians at Salamis; of Spaniards more than 20,000 perished, but scarcely 100 Englishmen. The frightful loss of ships and guns announced the overthrow of Spanish supremacy, but the bitter end was yet to come. During the next three

The shores of America and the open sea were the proper field of war for England. Her rask was to paralyze the grant by cutting off his couplies, and in this there was hope of success, for no defended force, however large, could watch all Finite's coronwas possessions at once. The langlish navy, first permanently erganized under Henry VIII, grew rapidly in Elizabeth's reign under the direction of her incomparable returned, and the policy she adopted was crewined with such success that Philip II lived to see his treasury bankrupt."—Old Virgina and the Neighbors, Vol I, page 21.

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In camp at leadors the present general of the arc, Alexander Farinese serves, to omagenate on indepths and one worklene if the agreed relief for a spring, blue a still grinter general with a camp at little towns and grown handers of the grown handers of the grown allowed on with the busy little towns and grown handers of the grown allowed on with the busy little towns and grown handers of the grown allowed on with the col

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years the activity of the sea kings reached such a pitch that more than 800 Spanish ships were destroyed. The final blow came soon after the deaths of Drake and Hawkins in 1596, when Raleigh, with the Earl of Essex and Lord Thomas Howard, destroyed the Spanish fleet in that great battle before Cadiz whereof Raleigh wrote that 'if any man had a desire to see Hell itself, it was there most lively figured.'"—Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, Vol. I, page 35.

Webster in his speech on the completion of the Bunker Hill monument tells us of the antagonistic differences between the Spanish and the English methods and purposes in the colonization and settlement of America. He said:

"The conquerors and the European settlers of Spanish America were mainly commanders and common soldiers. The Monarchy of Spain was not transferred to this hemisphere, but it acted in it as it acted at home, through its ordinary means and its true representative, military force. The robbery and destruction of the native race was the achievement of standing armies, in the right of the King, and by his authority, fighting in his name for the aggrandizement of his power and the extension of his prerogatives, with military ideas under arbitrary maxims—a portion of that dreadful instrumentality by which a perfect despotism governs a people. As there was no liberty in Spain, how could liberty be trans-

mitted to Spanish colonies.

"The Colonies of English America were of the people and of a people already free. They were of the middle, industrious and already prosperous class, the inhabitants of commercial and manufacturing cities, among whom liberty first revived and respired after a sleep of a thousand years in the bosom of the Dark Ages. Spain descended on the New World in the armed and terrible image of her monarchy and her soldiery; England approached it in the winning and popular garb of personal rights, public protection and civil freedom. England transplanted liberty to America; Spain transplanted power. England, through the agency of private companies, and the efforts of individuals colonized this part of North America by industrious individuals making their own way in the wilderness, defending themselves against the savages, recognizing their right to the soil and with a general honest purpose of introducing knowledge, as well as Christianity among them. Spain swooped on South America like a vulture on its prey. Everything was forced. Territories were acquired by fire and sword. Cities were destroyed by fire and sword. Hundreds of thousands of human beings fell by fire and sword. Every conversion to Christianity was attempted by fire and sword.

"Behold, then, fellow-citizens, the difference resulting from the operation of the two principles. Here to-day, on the summit of Bunker Hill and at the foot of this monument, behold the difference! I would that the fifty thousand voices present could proclaim it with a shout which should be heard over the globe. Our inheritance was of liberty, secured and regulated by law and enlightened by religion and knowledge; that of South America was of power, stern, unrelenting, tyrannical, military power. And now look to the consequences of the two principles on the general and aggregate happiness of the human race. Behold the results in all the regions conquered by Cortez and Pizarro and the contrasted results here I suppose the territory of the United States may amount to one-eighth or one-tenth of that colonized by Spain on this continent; and yet in all that vast region there are but one or two millions of people of European

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color and European blood, while in the United States there are fourteen millions who rejoice in their descent from the people of the more northern part of Europe."

What a contrast between the power of Spain and the power of the English-speaking people in the days of Elizabeth and the power of the two today. Then Spain was "the greatest military power that had existed in Europe since the days of Constantine the Great." Then, as Bacon said, "the sun never sets in Spanish dominions, but ever shines upon part or other of them."

Then England was a feeble power, with a population of about 5,000,000, and with its possessions restricted to the British Isles.

Today Spain is a feeble nation, shorn of its power and possessions. Today England and the English-speaking people who have spread forth from the British Isles have become in the sublime thought of Webster:

"A power to which"... "Rome, in the height of her glory, is not to be compared,—a power which has dotted over the whole surface of the globe, with its possessions and military posts,—whose morning drum-beat, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England;" Speech in U. S. Senate, May 7, 1834.

and today, repeating the words of the present American Ambassador to England, in referring to England and the United States before a distinguished assemblage scarce three months ago:

"I had almost said the undivided and indivisible English-speaking race, that race which is united in its history, in its language, in its pride in the past, and its aspirations for the future, whose kindred flags engirdle the world, and which comprises within the limits of its sovereignty over one-fourth, nearly one-third, of the inhabitable globe and which governs very nearly one-third of its inhabitants.

Pardon this digression. But, if it fairly presents the relation of England and Spain to each other, and the conditions of the times when Raleigh was born and lived, it may not be considered unseasonable, nor inappropriate as a background for any delineation of Raleigh.

Raleigh was born at East Budleigh, near Hayes Barton, in Devonshire, that lovely county of England where

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Devonshire was the county which gave England the three naval heroes of the Elizabethan era. Hawkins was born at Plymouth, Drake at Tavistock, and Raleigh at Budleigh. All three were born in places that looked

over the English Channel.

"Effingham, Grenville, Raleigh, Drake,
Here's to the bold and free!
Benbow, Collingwood, Byron, Blake,
Hail to the Kings of the Sea!
Admirals all, for England's sake,
Honour be yours and fame!
And honour, as long as waves shall break,
To Nelson's peerless name!"

-Newbolt.

Raleigh played and went about as boys always have done, but he, with all the other boys of his neighborhood, was familiar with the sea and tales of the sea. The fortunes of the family and of their neighbors must in those days have been adventured in the sea. There was not a family of that locality who had not some son who had sailed on some adventure and brought home the story of the discovery of new continents and of great sea fights in which Spanish galleons, loaded with silks and treasure, had been captured. Some had been with Drake and some had been in the South Sea and sailed around the world. From all this he must have imbibed in early life that enthusiasm he always had to establish colonies in the new continent, and with it that hatred he always had of the Spaniards, whom the men of Devon scourged with fire and sword.

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Raleigh played and went about as boys always have done, but he, with all the other boys of his neighborhood, was familiar with the sea and takes of the sea. The fortunes of the family and of their neighbors must in those days have been adventured in the sea. There was not a family of that locality who had not some son who had sailed on some adventure and brought home the story of the discovery of new continents and of great sea fights in which Spanish galleons, loaded with siles and treasure, had been captured. Some had been with Drake and some had been in the South Sea and sailed around the world. From all this he must have imbibed in early life that enthusiasm he always had to establish colonies had of the Spaniards, whom the men of Devon scourged with fire and sword.

Such an environment must have influenced the purposes and career of the boy of that locality. The Davises, Drakes and Hawkins, Gilberts and Grenvilles, as well as the Raleighs, were all men of Devon.

"He had come into the world at a turning-point in the history of the nation, which had just passed through the crisis of the Reformation to endure the fiery ordeal of the Catholic reaction. As he grew to boyhood's consciousness of his environment, he may have realized, young as he was, something of the sense of relief with which those dark times of reserve and misgiving were succeeded by the freer air and more spacious vistas of Elizabeth. The thoughts which were stirring in men's hearts, and the words which fell from their lips, were well calculated to fire the imagination of the sea-born child. Freed from the fetters of routine and the limitations of a conscience held in others' keeping, men in England were learning to rely on their own strength and initiative. The old convictions were not dead nor radically altered, but they had expanded with the intellectual awakening of mankind to become more powerful incentives to action. With the opening of a new spiritual horizon the material horizon also had widened beyond the dreams of imagination. It is well-nigh impossible now to fully realize the momentous influence of the voyages of Columbus, which at the close of the former century had displayed a new world to human ken and promised revelations of infinite extension. With bewildering rapidity discovery had succeeded discovery. The startled imagination of men dreamed of great veins of virgin gold sleeping in the unquarried mines of the new world's mountains and conceived the shores of the farther ocean as pebbled with inexhaustible gems. Fired by the fame and example of the continental discoverers, adventurous Englishmen followed the irresistible attraction of the mystic West. Sir Hugh Willoughby turned the North Cape to seek a passage into the sister ocean, and perished in the ice with all his men. Encouraged by the first of British sovereigns who realized the sea kingdom's need of a navy, William Hawkins went trading to Brazil and taught his famous son to follow in his track. The crisis of the Reformation gave impulse to maritime enterprise, for the antagonism of Spain to the rising sea-power and commercial expansion of England turned simple traders into privateers, and swift reprisals were exacted for a restrictive policy which was reinforced by the zeal of the Inquisition. There was a great unrest upon the world, and whether unconsciously stirred by the spirit of the time or with a dim consciousness of their new inheritance, the hearts of humble men in England were drawn towards the sea. The persecutions of the Catholic reaction brought eager recruits to the ranks of the privateers, and the younger sons of the great West-country families—the Carews, the Horseys, the Tremaynes and the Strangways—supported the cause of the reformed religion in their ships, harassing communications between Spain and the Low Countries. Such was the quickening spirit of the age, and such were the traditions with which the Gilberts and Raleighs grew. Their boyish games along the river reaches of Dart and Otter were mimic voyages of discovery. Familiar from the cradle with boats and ships and tackle, the friendly sea had no terrors for the hardy lads who learned from well-tried masters those early lessons of navigation which bore their fruit in after years."-Sir Walter Raleigh, by Sir Rennell Rodd, page 10.

"From childhood's days the young Gilberts and Raleighs had been familiar with the sea. The little port of Budleigh Salterton is only some three miles distant from Hayes Barton. Compton is but an easy walk from Torquay, and the manor of Greenaway, the favourite residence of the Gilberts, is situated on a headland running out into a deep-water

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Froude describes the location and environments of the Manor House of Greenaway:

"Some two miles above the port of Dartmouth, once among the most important harbors in England, on a projecting angle of land which runs out into river at the head of one of its most beautiful reaches, there has stood for some centuries the Manor House of Greenaway. The water runs deep all the way to it from the sea, and the largest vessels may ride with safety within a stone's throw of the windows. In the latter half of the sixteenth century there must have met, in the hall of this mansion, a party as remarkable as could have been found any where in England. Humphrey and Adrian Gilbert, with their half-brother, Walter Raleigh here, when little boys, played at sailors in the reaches of Long Stream; in the summer evenings doubtless rowing down with the tide to the port, and wondering at the quaint figure-heads and carved prows of the ships which thronged it; or climbing on board, and listening, with hearts beating, to the mariners' tales of the new earth beyond the sunset. And here in later life, matured men, whose boyish dreams had become heroic action, they used again to meet in the intervals of quiet, and the rock is shown underneath the house where Raleigh smoked the first tobacco. Another remarkable man, of whom we shall presently speak more closely, could not fail to have made a fourth at these meetings. A sailor-boy of Sandwich, the adjoining parish, John Davis, showed early a genius which could not have escaped the eye of such neighbors, and in the atmosphere of Greenaway he learned to be as noble as the Gilberts, and as tender and delicate as Raleigh."-England's Forgotten Worthies. Short Studies on Great Subjects, page 387.

We are told that on one summer day, when Warren Hastings was a boy just seven years old, while lounging reach of the river two miles above Destructed. There is little doubt that their parents, like so many of the Western pentry, had adventured their their parents, like so many of the Western pentry, had adventured their than the formes in the that belongs on a safer's calling. These little hardwart of the West-country were the safer country from modifier and the relevant of the homeword bound with takes of the world beyond the sty fine was the recent which broke the monotony of isolated country like. Not a village in that pleasant moorland monotony feathing to the other part, but had sent to the some of its some or the peath of accountry feathing to the other hand there each knowledge peath of accountry countries a find been brought home to England, mischly with falled and fame, could be picked up at first hand from votterns who had sailed with the cider ties being bridge, whose intake is follower written who had sailed with the cider ties world, as has been suggested with pictures are the former of the world their expeditions down the grean river reaches, to employe the north print has a like the grean river reaches, to employe the nymbre of the sings and the magin of the scale indicate that ny series falled in such close the theory was the magin of the spirit of the operation that had been help been beyond the limit of Arctic snows and never the burning coole seed beyond the limit of Arctic snows and never the burning coole seed the minute of with an experience of the spirit of the operations of the spirit of the operations of the spirit of the spirit of the operations of the spirit of the spirit of the operations of the spirit of the spirit of the operations of the spirit of the s

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We are told that on one summer day, when Warren Hastings was a boy just seven years old, while lounging on the bank of the rivulet which flows through the old domain of his ancestors, there arose in his mind a scheme, which he never abandoned, to recover the estate of his fathers, and that finally, after his checkered career, he acquired Daylesford and there retired to die.

The environments and associations of Raleigh at East Burleigh and at the Manor House of Greenaway, as a boy, must have influenced and to a great extent controlled him in the varied and complicated situations of his later career.

It has been said of Raleigh that his-

"central idea in life was not prejudice against the Catholic religion, for he was singularly broad in that respect, but in his own words 'hatred of the tyrranous prosperity of Spain!" This ran like a red strand through his whole career from Smerwick to the block, and this was at once the measure of his greatness and the secret of his fall."—Gosse's Sir Walter Raleigh, page 52.

How similar the fate of Raleigh, who gained for the English-speaking race its foothold in the Indies of the West, and the fate of Hastings, who secured for England its possessions and extended its Empire in the Indies of the East! By political intrigue and Spanish influence, Raleigh lost his fortune and his head. By political enmities and personal antipathies, Hastings was impoverished by the enormous expenses of his defense in the eight years' trial of the impeachment charges against him.

The war with Spain from 1585 to the Treaty of Peace of 1604–1605 prevented the attempts of the English people to colonize parts of the New World. It prevented Raleigh from sending relief to his colony at Roanoke. During that war, although he had not lost interest in the colonization of America and his purposes in this regard had not abated, Raleigh was occupied in putting forth his energies in fighting the enemies of his country.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Sir Walter Raleigh's share in the great victory of the English fleet over the 'invincible Armada,' sent by Spain to ravage England and shatter the fabric of Protestantism, was not so large as that of Howard and Drake; but he rendered important service, nevertheless."

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"He indirectly contributed to swelling the list of ships in the little navy by selling to the government the vessel he had built to take part in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition of 1583. Ten years before, the Ark Ralegh had returned to England, after setting out with Gilbert's fleet, under such circumstances as to greatly discredit her commander, who was roundly denounced by the gallant Admiral. She had a destiny, however, and that was to serve as flag-ship of the fleet so hastily assembled for the repulse of the Armada. Over the Ark Ralegh Lord Howard, of Effingham, hoisted his flag, as the lord high admiral of the fleet, and when it was suggested that the price paid Raleigh for the flag-ship was excessive, he wrote to the Queen's prime-minister: 'Tell her Majesty from me, I pray you, that the money was well given for her. I think her the very ship in the world for all conditions; and truly I think there can no great ship make me change and go out of her. We can see no sail, great or small, but, how far soever they be off, we can fetch and speak with them.'

"This was high praise for the ship that Raleigh had constructed, and certainly he deserved well of the government which benefited by his skill and foresight. But the truth is that he was basely requited, indeed, for, though it was agreed that five thousand pounds should be paid for her, Sir Walter received not a penny, as the sum was deducted from a debt which it was claimed he owed the crown on account of another expedition."

-Ober's Sir Walter Raleigh, pages 104-107.

The years which followed the defeat of the Armada were rich in events of profound national importance. They were years of splendour and triumph. The flag of England became supreme on the seas; English commerce penetrated to the farthest corners of the Old World, and English colonies rooted themselves on the shores of the New. The national intellect, strung by the excitement of sixty years, took shape in a literature which is an eternal possession to mankind, while the incipient struggles of the two parties in the Anglican Church prepared the way for the conflicts of the coming century, and the second act of the Reformation."

"The action before Gravelines of the 30th of July, 1588, decided the largest problems ever submitted in the history of mankind to the arbitrement of force. Beyond and beside the immediate fate of England, it decided that Philip's revolted Provinces should never be reannexed to the Spanish Crown. It broke the back of Spain, sealed the fate of the Duke of Guise, and though it could not prevent the civil war, it assured the ultimate succession of the King of Nayarre. In its remoter consequences it determined the fate of the Reformation in Germany; for had Philip been victorious, the League must have been immediately triumphant; the power of France would have been on the side of Spain and the Jesuits, and the thirty years' war would either have been never begun, or would have been brought to a swift conclusion. It furnished James of Scotland with conclusive reasons for remaining a Protestant, and for eschewing forever the forbidden fruit of Popery; and thus it secured his tranquil accession to the throne of England when Elizabeth passed away. Finally, it was the sermon which completed the conversion of the English nation and transformed the Catholics into Anglicans."—Froude's History of England, Vol. 12, pages 555 and 556.

The defeat and destruction of the Armada did more than any one thing to bring about the Treaty of Peace of 1604–1605, and

"it was this peace which made possible the permanent settlement of the English across the Atlantic battle-ground in the far distant land of Virginia."—Brown's First Republic in America, page 3. "He indirectly contributed to swelling the list of ships in the little may be selling to the covernment the vessel he had built to take part may be selling to the covernment the vessel he had built to take part har it is not before the Ark Ralseh had returned to liquid and, after setting out with Gilliont a Ark Ralseh had returned to liquid their setting out with Gilliont who was roundly den excell by the gellant Admiral. She had a destroy who was roundly den excell by the gellant Admiral. She had a destroy who was roundly den excell by the gellant Admiral. She had a destroy for the rand that was to serve as the lord had the flort so had the sampled for the related his flag, as the lord high admiral of the flort, and when he wrote to the Queen's prime particle for the flags, was consumed be wrote to the Queen's prime particle. It can be the hom inc. I have the none of the consideration, and that it there can no great ship in the world for all constituting, and that it there can no great ship make me change and go out of her. We can see no sail, great or small, but, how far soever they he off, we can lark and speak with trent.

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It is therefore not too much to say, as it has been said by John Fiske, that the world-astounding triumph in the defeat and destruction of the Armada was "the event most tremendous perhaps that mankind have witnessed since the Star of the Wise Men stood over the stable at Bethlehem," and that it was "the inaugural event in the history of the United States."

"But the great historic fact, most conspicuous among the consequences of the discovery of America, is the fact that colonial empire, for England and for Holland, grew directly out of the long war in which Spain used American and East Indian treasure with which to subdue the English and Dutch peoples and to suppress the principles of civil and religious liberty which they represented. The Dutch tore away from Spain the best part of her East Indian empire, and the glorious Elizabethan sea kings, who began the work of crippling Philip II in America, led the way directly to the English colonization of Virginia. Thus we are introduced to the most important aspect of the discovery of America. It opened up a fresh soil, enormous in extent and capacity, for the possession of which the lower and higher types of European civilization and social polity were to struggle. In this new arena the maritime peoples of western Europe fought for supremacy; and the conquest of so vast a field has given to the ideas of the victorious people, and to their type of social polity, an unprecedented opportunity for growth and development. Sundry sturdy European ideas, transplanted into this western soil, have triumphed over all competitors and thriven so mightily as to react upon all parts of the Old World, some more, some less, and thus to modify the whole course of civilization. This is the deepest significance of the discovery of America; and a due appreciation of it gives to our history from its earliest stages an epic grandeur, as the successive situations unfold themselves and events with unmistakable emphasis record their moral. In the conflict of Titans that absorbed the energies of the sixteenth century, the question whether it should be the world of Calderon or the world of Shakespeare that was to gain indefinite power of future expansion was a question of incalculable importance to mankind.

"The beginnings of the history of English-speaking America are thus to be sought in the history of the antagonism between Spain and England that grew out of the circumstances of the Protestant Reformation. It was as the storehouse of the enemy's treasure and the chief source of his supplies that America first excited real interest among the English people."

-Fiske's Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, page 10.

I cannot undertake to refer to the many events in the career of this great man Raleigh. I cannot even attempt to speak of the principal events of his life. All these I must pass by until I reach the events which brought about the closing of his career and his death.

But here I cannot refrain from interjecting that the people of today generally do not appear to be as familiar as they should be with this hero of Elizabethan days, and with what he and his influence had accomplished. I

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Now to the closing events of his life.

You will recall that before the end of the war with Spain, that in 1603, Raleigh was arrested on the charge of complicity in the plot of Lord Cobham against King James—a charge of treason for an alleged treasonable friendship and intercourse with Spain. After a delay of two months, the mockery of a trial took place. It was brutally conducted by Sir Edward Coke, the prosecutor, and Chief Justice Popham, the presiding judge, in violation of the fundamental principles of law and humanity. Raleigh's demand to be confronted with the witnesses against him was denied with insult, and the result was a forced verdict of guilty.

The conduct of the trial by Sir Edward Coke and Chief Justice Popham has, as William Wirt Henry says, "consigned their memories to lasting infamy." Although a victim of jealousy and entirely innocent of crime, he was condemned to death in the same brutal manner as his trial had been conducted, but while on the scaffold he was reprieved, his sentence being commuted to perpetual imprisonment.

He was then removed to the Tower. During his imprisonment he devoted himself to chemical studies and applied himself to literature. Among his literary achievements there he wrote his "History of the World."

After the lapse of twelve long, weary years he was, in January, 1615, released from the Tower, in charge of a keeper. A few months later he was allowed to make preparations for his ill-fated voyage to find gold mines in Guiana. Armed with a commission from the King, under the King's Great Seal, as Admiral of his fleet, he finally, in August, 1617, after a dilatory start, sailed away, relying upon the advice of Bacon, who had told him just before he sailed, "For, upon my life, you have a

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sufficient pardon for all that is past already, the King having under his Great Seal made you Admiral of your fleet and given the power of martial law over your officers and sailors. Your commission is as good a pardon for all former offences as the law of England can afford you."

Misfortune and disaster accompanied the enterprise from the start, and it ended with the tragic death of Raleigh's son, and in complete failure to discover the illusive mines of gold, or to obtain any evidence of their existence.

Broken in spirit, broken in health, wan and palsied, he returned to England in 1618, with a premonition of

an ignominious fate and ruin.

The vindictiveness of Philip III of Spain had been aroused by Raleigh's expedition to Guiana, and he demanded of King James the death of Raleigh, not caring how it might be brought about. The anxiety of King James to promote the marriage of his son Charles, afterward Charles I, to the Infanta Maria, daughter of Philip III, was such that King James was more than willing to comply servilely with the orders from the King of Spain.

Raleigh's acts in his expedition to Guiana constituted no offence under the laws of England and afforded no pretext for his death. Bacon, the then Lord Chancellor, was called upon by King James to devise a method by which the death of Raleigh could be accomplished by a colourable legal proceeding and he advised that the "King may issue his royal warrant for an execution upon the conviction of 1603."

Without any charges against him growing out of his voyage to Guiana, without the formality of any trial whatever, pursuing the method devised by Bacon to accomplish his judicial murder, and in disregard of Bacon's own advice to Raleigh, that the commission from the King was in effect a pardon for all former offences, Raleigh was brought before a body of Commissioners, who ordered the Justices of the King's Bench

to give execution to the old sentence of 1603. Before the Justices of the King's Bench he was summoned to appear on October 28, 1618, to show cause why there should be any further stay of execution of the old sentence.

His plea that his commission from the King was in effect a pardon was denied with insult, and his execution was then ordered, under the sentence of 1603. On the following day he was beheaded under a death war-

rant drawn by Bacon and signed by the King.

The conviction of Raleigh in 1603 was on a charge of treasonable friendship and intercourse with Spain. To gratify a King of Spain by the death of Raleigh for his loyalty to England and his hostility to Spain was the only cause for the pretext devised by Bacon for enforcing in 1618 the conviction in 1603. Consistency in so grave a matter for his country was of no importance to King James. Deceit and falsehood were so habitual with him that consistency was swept aside whenever it stood in the way even of his petty selfish plans.

"The King promised Gondomar that Raleigh should be publicly executed, either in London or in Madrid; but, on second thought, the latter would not do. To surrender him to Spain would be to concede Spain's claim to Guiana. Without conceding this claim there was nothing for which to punish him. Accordingly, James, in this year 1618, revived the old death sentence of 1603, and Spain drank a deep draught of revenge when the hero of Cadiz and Fayal was beheaded in the Palace Yard at Westminster; a scene fit to have made Elizabeth turn in her grave in the Abbey hard-by. A fouler judicial murder never stained the annals of any country."—John Fiske, Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, Vol. 1, page 199.

Thus the life of one of the greatest men of England—one of the most loyal sons of England—was taken at the bidding of a King of Spain. Raleigh's tragic end filled England with horror. The public indignation it excited against the craven monarch of England and his tools still remains unappeased. Before the tribunal of the world King James and Bacon stand convicted for their part in this dastardly crime. Raleigh has become immortalized as an English Statesman and patriot, steadfast in his enmity and activities against the evil influence and hostile pretensions of Spain, and whose everythought and act were for his country's good.

to give execution to the old sentence of roos. Before the justices of the King's Beach he was summoned to appear on October 28, 1618, to show cause why there should be any further stay of execution of the old sentence.

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Let me put before you what has by others been better said than I can express about this ill-starred expedition to Guiana and its tragic ending, and about the betrayal of Raleigh and his execution on his return to England.

"With the death of King James' favorite, Carr, Earl of Somerset, and the accession of Villiers to power in 1616, Raleigh was liberated from the Tower upon condition of undertaking another expedition to Guiana in search of the gold mine, which he asserted to exist near the Orinoco; but he was required also to avoid attacking the Spaniards. As Spain now claimed this country, it is plain this last condition was a snare of the king's to entrap Raleigh. The expedition sailed despite the protest of the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, but King James guarded against ultimate trouble with Spain through the cowardly safeguard of allowing Raleigh to go with his old sentence still hanging over his head, as well as communicating his route to Gondomar. And so in April, 1617, the hero

sailed to his doom.

a sum of silver.

"The small fleet, provided mostly at the expense of Raleigh and his friends, arrived at the Orinoco. Here the commander's illness—he had suffered an apoplectic attack in the Tower—prevented his further progress. He sent his friend Keymis forward in search of the mine. Keymis' party came in collision with the Spaniards, burnt their town, and failed to find any mine. Young Walter Raleigh was killed in the fight, shouting, 'Come on, my men! This is the only mine you will ever find.' Raleigh's reproaches of Keymis were so bitter that the latter committed suicide. Raleigh, stricken as he was, wished now to search for the mine, but his men refused to go with him. Utterly broken down, he reached England with his ship 'Destiny,' in June, 1618. He desired to escape to France; but he was surrounded with satellites of the king, and finally betrayed by his kinsman, Sir Lewis Stukely."—Library of Historic Characters and Famous Events, Vol. I, page 66.

"He had a sure prevision of his fate, and if, as was further charged against him, he at last attempted to escape to France, was he not justified in such an effort? Raleigh's sad fate was attracting the attention not only of Spain's royal ruler, but also that of France, who would gladly have offered the persecuted man an asylum in his kingdom. The French ambassador somehow communicated this fact to him, and boats were provided on the Thames. But Stukely became privy to the matter, and when at last Sir Walter, one dark night, set out for the French ship, he was followed by another boat containing an armed guard, arrested, and returned to land. For frustrating this attempt, which he had convinced Sir Walter he was desirous of promoting, Stukely received a thousand pounds, and it was on this occasion that he earned the title which was afterward bestowed upon him of 'Sir Judas,' since he sold his master for

"The captive's only remark when he discovered Stukely's perfidy was, 'Sir Lewis, these actions will not turn out to your credit'—a dignified protest which the miserable wretch must often have recalled when he became, soon after, an outcast from society. There may seem to have been no need of all this by-play, this protracted torture of a victim already so securely clutched that there was never a chance for his escape; but it was in conformity with the King's policy, in order to induce Sir Walter

to convict himself of his guilt by these vain endeavors.

"King James was resolved upon an execution, but he desired that it should be carried out 'decently and in order,' so that his popularity might not suffer. Executed Sir Walter should be—there was no doubt of that;

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"In other words, the King was advised to murder Sir Walter on the strength of his conviction for treason fifteen years before; but the public should be given to understand, and the King of Spain be made to believe, that he was executed on account of crimes committed in 1618. Under the semblance of a legal proceeding, said Bacon, he might be called before the King's council of state, and be told that this form of procedure was taken 'because he was civilly dead already.' Being 'civilly dead' of course, he could not plead nor cause any trouble to the King or his eminent judges

by a protracted trial that might excite public attention.

"The prisoner did plead, however, when finally brought before the King's council, in accordance with Bacon's advice, that he had received a pardon by the issuance of the royal commission, and he cited the opinion of the Lord Chancellor himself in the matter. Fearing the very consequences of which he was then a victim, just before sailing on that fateful voyage, Raleigh had inquired of Bacon if his safety would not be better assured by a pardon under the Great Seal rather than inferred on the strength of the commission. Bacon had replied: 'You have a pardon already by the terms of your commission.' Sir Walter hinted that more money would be forthcoming if necessary for the purpose; but the illustrious lawyer, who was then friendly to him, answered: 'As money is the knee-timber of your voyage, spare your purse in this particular; for, upon my life, you have a sufficient pardon for all that is past already, the King having, under his Great Seal, made you admiral of your fleet, and given you power of martial law over your officers and soldiers. Your commission is as good a pardon for all former offences as the law of England can afford you." - Ober's Sir Walter Raleigh, page 286. See also Sir Walter Raleigh, by Sir Rennell Rodd, page 259.

"The years during which Bacon held the Great Seal were among the darkest and most shameful in English history. Everything at home and abroad was mismanaged. First came the execution of Raleigh, an act which if done in a proper manner might have been defensible, but which under all the circumstances must be considered as a dastardly murder."—

Macauley's Lord Bacon.

"The public indignation which in days when the theory of prerogative still protected the person of the sovereign from criticism, fell upon the instruments of the monarch's will, was so great that James felt compelled to adopt the course originally suggested by the Commission, and to publish a Declaration, setting forth the crimes and offences of Raleigh, which it was Bacon's ungrateful duty to compose. If later historians have to some extent admitted that its arguments acquit the King of a conscious act of injustice, contemporary opinion was little modified by the terms of this defence. His countrymen were content to leave on one side the narrow issue of legality, and judge his case on the broader basis which still appealed to Englishmen who had not forgotten the great struggle of the previous reign. They had long ceased to think of him as the pampered favourite, the arrogant courtier. In their eyes he stood for the greatness

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of England, for independence from the tyranny of priestcraft, a danger not yet sufficiently remote to be disregarded, for the expansion of their country's resources, for liberty of commerce, and for the freedom of the sea. But it needed the scaffold at Westminster to complete his triumphant vindication, to open to his spirit that sphere of attainment which it was not his fortune to take by storm in life. There were many spots on the sun of his reputation, but the tragedy of his end revealed his greatness and blotted out his faults. Thus by his death, in a measure more than his record justifies, an ideal to the men of a subsequent generation, who were to engage in the great struggle for constitutional liberty."—Sir Walter Raleigh, by Sir Rennell Rodd, page 291.

Retribution seems to have overtaken in time those who were the principal characters in bringing about the death of Raleigh. On an occasion when the death of one who had been prominent in an attempt to secure civic liberty for his country was threatened by an arbitrary government, in violation of the fundamental laws of humanity, Webster said that if his blood:

"is taken by an absolute, unqualified, unjustifiable violation of national law, what will it appease, what will it pacify? It will mingle with the earth, it will mix with waters of the ocean, the whole civilized world will snuff it in the air, and it will return with awful retribution on the heads of those violators of national law and universal justice. I cannot say when or in what form; but, depend upon it, that if such an act takes place, then thrones and principalities and powers must look out for the consequences."—Remarks at the Festival of the Sons of New Hampshire, Boston, November 7, 1849.

So an awful retribution overtook, not at once or at the same time, not in the same manner, but in the steady course of time, those who were principals in the taking of the blood of Raleigh.

Sir Lewis Stukely, his kinsman, who betrayed him and who was ever afterward commonly called Sir "Judas" Stukely, became an outcast, shunned by every one, high and low, and finally, on a solitary island, died a maniac, haunted by the face of Raleigh.

Lady Raleigh lived until 1647, long enough to see Bacon, who had been called upon to devise the dastardly judicial murder of Raleigh, have his day of reckoning and go to his grave judicially dishonored and in loathsome disgrace.

Within one hundred years from Raleigh's death, a King of England, one of the dynasty that had destroyed him, was brought to the scaffold, and later within that

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period the House of Stuart was eliminated forever from the succession to the throne of England.

And still later, nearly three hundred years from the death of Raleigh, the long standing account between Spain and the English people was finally settled when the ships of an English-speaking people—the ships of a people whose history begins in the implacable hatred that existed between Spain and England, and among those ships one named the "Raleigh"—in July, 1898, entered Manila Bay and commenced the battles of a war that deprived Spain of all her possessions in the New World.

Remember, too, that the "Ark Ralegh" had the destiny to serve as the flagship of the English fleet in the defeat of the Armada. Was there not, also, a special destiny of Providence in the "Raleigh" taking part in that Battle of Manila Bay?

Was there not, also, the same destiny controlling when that battle was fought and won in the Philippines—Islands so named in honor of Philip II, King of Spain, whose supreme effort of life was the fitting out of the Armada?

In the defeat of the Armada, England secured forever her freedom fron the domination of Spanish political claims, influence and mental bondage. In the defeat of Spain at Manila Bay, Spain lost forever to an Englishspeaking people the remnant of her possessions and the remnant of her domination in the New World.

What more would Raleigh have desired than that a people of his own race, settled, as he believed they would be, in the New World—great on the sea and on the land—on the sea with their ships, one of which bore his name—should finally avenge his murder—a murder at the instance of a King of Spain—and accomplish forever the hopes and efforts of his life?\*

"Though the mills of God grind slowly,
Yet they grind exceeding small;
Though with patience He stands waiting,
With exactness grinds He all."

<sup>\*</sup>See the interesting editorial—a classic—in the Philadelphia Public Ledger of April 28, 1899.

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## Jean Paul Jaquet,

VICE-DIRECTOR AND CHIEF MAGISTRATE ON THE SOUTH RIVER OF NEW NETHERLAND, 1655-1657.

By Edwin Jaquett Sellers.

Read April 3, 1911.

Although the first ancestor to whom Jean Paul Jaquet is definitely traced is Pierre Jaquet, a citizen of Geneva, Switzerland, yet the family is said to have originated in the vicinity of Gex, Province of Savoy, France. (For authorities in support of the references to the Jaquett Family, see *Genealogy of the Jaquett Family*, 1896, and revised edition, 1907, by Edwin Jaquett Sellers.)

Pierre Jaquet, a citizen of Geneva, is mentioned in 1550 as the late Pierre Jaquet and father of François Jaquet, in the marriage contract of the latter. François' first wife was Marie, daughter of Claude Maillet, citizen of Geneva, and Marguerite de Livron. His second wife was Isabelle, daughter of Jean Phillipin, whom he married at St. Peter's Church, Geneva, June 15, 1550.

The Philippin family orginated at Metz, in Lorraine, France, the first of the family to settle at Geneva being Girard Philippin, who was received as a resident April 28, 1410. His son Johannes was a Member of the Council of Two Hundred and the latter's son Anthony was father of Jean Philippin, whose daughter married François Jaquet. Jean Philippin was born about 1491, and died September 5, 1581, aged ninety years. He was a Member of the Council of Two Hundred and of the Small Council and was Syndic from 1535 to 1556. (See Philippin Family in Jaquett Genealogy, 1907.)

François Jaquet became a Member of the Council of Two Hundred in 1546 and was also a Member of the Small Council, or Council of State, being mentioned in the records of these councils until his death in 1572. His son Pierre Jaquet, by his second wife, was baptized

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at Madeleine Church, November 30, 1557. He removed to Nüremberg, where he became a prominent merchant, and died November 28, 1610. His son Peter Paul Jaquet was also a merchant of Nüremberg; he died October 5, 1632; his second son, Jean Paul Jaquet, was born at Nüremberg 1615-1620. In a letter of Francis Daniel Pastorius, dated at Philadelphia, March 7, 1684, entitled "Positive news from America, about the Province of Pennsylvania, from a German who has journeyed hither," he says, "About these newly engrafted foreigners, I will make no further mention now, than that among them sundry High Germans are found, who have already been settled in this country for twenty years, and thus have, as it were, naturalized themselves, namely, Siberians, Brandenburgers, Holsteiners, Switzers, etc. Also a Nürenberger by the name of Jan Jaquet." (Settlement of Germantown, Pennsylvania and the Beginning of German Emigration to North America, by Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, LL.D., Philadelphia, 1899, page 81.)

Jean Paul Jaquet married Maria, daughter of Johan de Carpentier and Sophia van Culenburg. Johan de Carpentier was a descendant of Pieter de Carpentier, of Messen, West Flanders, Belgium, of which city he was Treasurer; he was also Counsellor to Charles de Croy, Prince de Chimay. By his first wife, Catharina Godtschalk, whom he married in 1488, he had, as third son, Jan de Carpentier, born at Messen, August, 1511, who married at Middleburg, Isabella, daughter of Jan de Villers, the younger, and his wife. Nicole de Novelles (The Netherlands Lion, 1914, column 157). Jan de Carpentier died at Ypres, December 14, 1580, aged seventy years, and was buried at St. Martin's Church; his wife died at Middleburg, September 15, 1584, aged seventytwo years, and was buried at St. Peter's Church. (Genealogy of the de Carpentier Family, 1909, by Edwin Jaquett

Sellers.)

Roeland de Carpentier, the third son of Johan de Carpentier and Isabella de Villers, was born at Messen in

at Madeleine Church, November 30, 1557. He removed to Nüremberg, where he became a prominent merchant, and died November 28, 1610. His son merchant, and died November 28, 1610. His son Peter Paul Jaquet was also a merchant of Nüremberg; he died October 5, 1632; his second son, Jean Paul Jaquet, was born at Nüremberg 1615-1020. In a letter of Francis Daniel Pastonius, dated at Philadelphia, March 7, 1684, entitled "Positive news from America, about the Province of Pennsylvania, from a German who has journeyed hither," he says, "About these newly engrafted foreigners. I will make no further mention now, than that among them sundry High Germans are found, who have already been settled in this country for twenty years, and thus have, as it were, naturalized for twenty years, and thus have, as it were, naturalized themselves, namely, Siberians, Brandenburgers, Holsteiners, Switzers, etc. Also a Nünenberger by the name of Jan Jaquet." (Settlement of Germant Emigration to North America, by Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, LL.D., America, by Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, LL.D.,

Jean Paul Jaquet married Maria, daughter of Johan de Carpentier and Sophia van Cidenburg Johan de Carpentier was a descerdant of Fieter de Carpentier, of Messeu, West Flanders, Beirium, of which city he vans Messeur; he was also Counsellor to Charles de Croy, Prince de Chinay. By his first wife, Catharina Godt schalk, whom he married in 1888, he had as third son, Jan de Carpentier, born at Messen, August, 15st, who married at Middleburg, Isabella, daughter of Jan de Villers, the vorager, and his wife, Nicole de Noyelles (The Netherlands Lion, 1014, column 157). Jan de Carpentier died at Ypres, December 13, 1580, aged seventy years, and was buried at St. Martin's Church, his wife two years, and was buried at St. Peter's Church, his wife two years, and was buried at St. Peter's Church. Ceme-

Roeland de Carpentier, the third son of Johan de Carpentier and Isabella de Villers, was born at Messen in 1546; married August 2, 1575, Josina, daughter of Jacob van Hecke; she was born at Brussels, 1553. March 15, 1575, Roeland de Carpentier was elected Secretary of the Assembly of the Dutch Congregation of England, held at London; admitted to citizenship at Ypres, August 28, 1578, and rendered accounts as Receiver of the Confiscations of the City and Castillany of Ypres, April 10, 1584, to September 10, 1593; Warden of the Parish of St. Martin; requested by The Eighteen Men to become their Clerk, but declined; Member of the Embassy to the Prince of Orange, at Antwerp, May 6, 1582; May 6, 1585, requested by the Magistracy of Goes to become Pensionary of that city, which he also declined; settled at Dordrecht, May 10, 1610, and died at Amsterdam October 6, 1618, aged seventy-two years. He was also Counsellor to Prince William of Orange at The Hague. His widow died at Utrecht, April 20, 1628, aged seventy-five years. Their third son Jan de Carpentier, who was born June 8, 1577, married, at Liege, April o, 1508, Maria, daughter of Servaes Hellincx and Catharina Crayers, who was born March 20, 1581, and died October 26, 1626. October 19, 1591, Ian de Carpentier went to Liege to acquire a commercial training; after his marriage he removed to Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1500 to Middleburg and in 1601 to Dordrecht, where he purchased a property November 21, 1600, and became an iron merchant. The Hellincx family of Liege was "descended from the most honorable and principal, as much on account of its prominence as the many illustrious and noble alliances by marriage it had made there." Maria Hellincx died September 20, 1603. She and her husband, Ian de Carpentier, had several children, among whom were Dr. Servaes (or Servatius) de Carpentier, Roeland de Carpentier, Rev. Casparus de Carpentier and Pieter de Carpentier.

Dr. Servatius de Carpentier was born at Aken, April 22, 1599; was a law student at Leyden September 23, 1621; received the degree of Doctor of Medicine; prior to 1636 was appointed Assessor of the Secret Council and

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Council Politic of Brazil; died at the Reciff, in Brazil, 1645.

Roeland de Carpentier, brother of Servatius, was born at Dordrecht, July 18, 1603; was in the Empire of Brazil at Todas Santos and was Chief Factor and Fiscal on the coast of Caromandel in the Fortress Geldria and became Second Dispenser, August 26, 1664.

Rev. Casparus de Carpentier, brother of Roeland, was born at Dordrecht, October 9, 1615; entered as a student of theology at Leyden, November 9, 1633; after leaving the University, returned to Dordrecht; called as minister to Sliedrecht in 1636, to Amersfoort in 1645, to Amsterdam in 1650, and was received as a Member of the Classis of Amsterdam April 19, 1650; died at Amsterdam, May 12, 1667, and was buried in the Westerkerk of that city.

Pieter de Carpentier, brother of Casparus, was born at Delft, June 2, 1501; Member of the Council of Forty, 1640; Councillor of the City of Dordrecht, 1641-2; Deputy-Burgomaster, 1645-46, 1652-53; Commissary of Municipal Affairs, 1653-54, 1657-58, 1665-66; Deputy to Beleyde, 1657, 1658, 1665, 1666; Member of the Orphan's Chamber, 1648-49, 1662-65; Councillor in Admiralty for the River Maas, January 5, 1662; frequently deputy to the States of Holland and West Fries-

land, and died at Dordrecht, December 17, 1672.

After the death of Maria Hellincx, Jan de Carpentier married Sophia, widow of Hans Coster, of Deventer, and daughter of Melchior van Culenburg and his wife, Anna Muls. Sophia was born November 6, 1601, and was baptized at Deventer March 28, 1602; married Jan de Carpentier June 27, 1627, at Culenburg. Melchior van Culenburg, of Deventer and Culenburg, was son of Hubert van Culenburg, Judge at Culenburg, son of Melchior van Culenburg, Bailiff or Sheriff, and Stadtholder of Culenburg, Judge at Leda and Castellan of the Castle of Culenburg, a descendant of the Lords of Culenburg, the Counts of Teisterbant, Cleve, Holland and many noble families. (Allied Ancestry of the van Culemborg

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Family, 1915, by Edwin Jaquett Sellers.) Sophia van Culenburg died March 9, 1633. She and her husband Jan de Carpentier had as eldest child a daughter Maria, who was born May 6, 1628, and who married Jean Paul Jaquet, as previouly stated. The date of the marriage has not been ascertained, although it was prior to Jaquet's arrival in America.

It was, no doubt, due to the influence of his wife's family that Jean Paul Jaquet became connected with the Dutch West India Company. In a letter from the Directors in Holland to Peter Stuyvesant, November 23, 1654, recommending Jaquet to Stuyvesant, it is mentioned that he was about sailing with his family in the ship "de Grote Christoffel" and that he had served the Company in Brazil for many years.

April 13, 1655, Jaquet was appointed Fire warden of New Amsterdam.

November 29, 1655, "Petrus Stuyvesant, on behalf of of their Noble High Mightinesses, the Lords States-General of the United Netherlands and the Noble Lords-Directors of the General Privileged West-India Company in the same. Director-General of New Netherland. Curação, Bonavro, Aruba and the dependencies thereof. together with the honorable Members of the High Council," commissioned Jean Paul Jaquet as Vice-Director and Chief Magistrate on the South River of New Netherland, as well as for the forts, territories and other places situate upon said river. The commission recited that there was needed for the direction and advancement of the affairs of the company someone to command on the South River in the absence of Stuyvesant, the Director-General: that Taguet was to keep order for the security of Fort Casimir and other places; to give orders and have them observed in all matters concerning trade, policy, justice and military, also in regard to the soldiers, the ships' crews, free persons, high and subaltern officers of whatever position and rank. The "Provisional Instructions" appended to the Commission provided for Jaquet, in the absence of the Director-General, to have

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supreme command and authority; the first place and vote in all council meetings, which were to be called only by his order, and, in case of a tie vote, he was to have a double vote; the council was to be formed, besides Jaquet, of Andries Hudde, Elmerhuysen Clevn and the two sergeants, if the affair should be purely military or concerning the Company's property, but, in purely civil affairs between the freemen and the Company's servants, then, in place of the two sergeants, two of the most suitable freemen, as the case might demand; Andries Hudde was to act as Secretary of the Council and Surveyor and to register all matters, judgments and sentences, and record the ships and yachts that might arrive, what they brought and took away; the keys of the Fort and the magazine were to be kept by Jaquet; he was to give the watchword and to have full command: he was to observe the ordinances against the sale of brandy or strong drinks to the savages, regarding robbing of gardens and plantations and drinking on the Sabbath or profanation of that day; he was not to permit superior or subordinate officers of the Company, nor soldiers, to absent themselves from the Fort during the night without his consent, nor to permit the freemen, especially the Swedes, who had their usual habitation outside, to remain within the Fort without his permission, nor should he permit Fort Casimir to be frequented too much by them or the savages; he was to prohibit ships or vessels going above or below Fort Casimir for trade with Christians or the savages and to require such trading to be conducted before or near the Fort, on the shore; he was to maintain Fort Casimir in a state of defense but, if any should request permission to plant, he might discharge them, though their term had not expired, upon their written promise to defend, if necessary, which promise was to be exacted of all and those refusing were to be sent to New Amsterdam; in distributing land he was to see that villages were formed of at least sixteen or twenty persons or families and, in order to prevent immoderate desire for land, he was, in place of tithes, to exact for

each acre of land twelve stivers annually; to provide for the expenses incurred at Fort Casimir he was to demand a tavernkeeper's excise similar to that paid at New Amsterdam, as follows:

For a hogshead of French or Rhenish wine fl.	20.
An anker of the same wine fl.	4.
For an anker of brandy, Spanish wine or dis-	
tilled waterfl.	7.
For a ton of imported beerfl.	6.
For a ton of New Netherland beerfl.	4.
or a larger or small cask in proportion,	

he was also to demand this excise from those who drank in company or at drinking bouts, but from those who laid it up for home use no excise was required; he was not to grant building or farm lots on the edge of the valley of Fort Casimir, between the Kill and the Fort nor behind the Fort, as such land was to be reserved for reinforcements and outworks; in order to help settlement on the south side of the Fort he was to have a street made behind the houses and to lay out thereon lots of about forty to fifty feet in width and one hundred feet in depth; he was to look well after the Swedes and, if any were found not well affected towards the Company, he was to make them leave or, if possible, send them to New Amsterdam; he was to endeavor to maintain friendly relations with the savages but, at the same time, to be watchful of them and other foreign nations and not permit them to visit the Fort armed or in great numbers, nor stay there over night, although he should have a house of bark built outside the Fort for lodging such Indians as were not great sachems; he was to have an inventory made immediately upon his arrival of the ammunition, materials, provisions and other effects of the Company and inquire of the existing Commandant Dirck Smith concerning the same since the Director-General's departure.

December 8, 1566, Jaquet took oath of office. A full account of the proceedings of his administration is

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printed in Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, vol. XII, beginning at page 120.

December 18, 1655, the first meeting was held at which

the Council was organized.

The proceedings of Jaquet's administration included an accounting rendered by his predecessor Commander Dirck Smith, actions of debt, insubordination of the inhabitants and soldiers, inspections of the Fort and the Company's property, conferences with the Indians concerning trade and regulation of prices for skins, publication of marriage bans, dealings with the Swedes concerning leave to settle on the South River, demands of the inhabitants for wages due them by the Company, appointment of a Court Messenger, requests for grants of lands, duties on liquor and regulation of an excise, raising of a poor-tax, appointment of tobacco inspectors. proceedings in attachment, acknowledgment of conveyances, actions of assault and battery, selling of liquor to the Indians in excess of the Company's orders, regulation of hogs running at large, requests to be relieved from promise of marriage, appointment of guardians for minors, construction of a bridge over the Kill running by the Fort, orders for fencing of lands, orders requiring palisades for the Fort, actions of slander, and various other matters of minor importance.

There was considerable correspondence between Jaquet and the Council at New Amsterdam concerning the ship "Mercurius," which arrived at the South River March 28, 1656, from Sweden with a number of persons who desired to settle. Landing was prohibited by Jaquet until the matter should be passed upon by the Council at New Amsterdam. While negotiations were pending a number of Swedes and Indians boarded the vessel and assisted her to pass up the river. Finally the vessel arrived at New Amsterdam July 11, 1656, and the passengers were permitted to land and settle after the payment of certain customs duties. The matter, however, was given quite serious consideration on account of

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the violation of Jaquet's orders and the feeling that existed against the Swedes.

August 3, 1656, "Armgard Prints," daughter of John Printz, the Swedish governor, presented a petition to the Council at New Amsterdam, complaining that her father's property at Tinnakunck and Printsdorp (on Tinnicum Island) was greatly in need of repair, that she had appealed to Jaquet for authority to have possession and make repairs but that he had refused her request, whereupon she received permission to have possession of the land at Printsdorp.

March 20, 1657, John Schaggen complained to the Council at New Amsterdam that Jaquet had made claim to his land and, that in order to adjust the matter, he had agreed to work the land upon shares, provided Jaquet would supply assistants, and that on account of their not being provided, half the crop had been lost, whereupon he had been obliged to vacate the property; that he had requested Jaquet to grant him other land but had received not more than twenty rods' breadth along the river, that his request for more was refused, wherefore he prayed for redress to the Council.

April 6, 1657, Isaac Allerton protested to Jaquet against his claiming priority of attachment of certain tobacco which the former claimed to have attached first.

April 20, 1657, Stuyvesant wrote Jaquet that he should make defense to these complaints and, in the interim, be suspended from office.

May 24, 1657, Jaquet requested a copy of the charges and June 15, 1657, upon appearing before the Council, the complaints were read and copies delivered to him.

June 19, 1657, he appeared before the Council and denied the charges and asserted that they had been gotten up by party spirit, which was presumed in his favor, and he was discharged from arrest, although required to render an account of his administration.

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1657, he says: "I have received since my arrival here your Honor's letter of the 20th of April, whereby I learn of the complaints and lamentations of Sieur Allerton and Schaggen, against and to the charges of Jaquet as appears from two different requests. I have heard and examined the matter and thus found that there was more passion than reason (at the bottom): but I have made the parties so far agree, that the question with the other one (Allerton) is closed. Schaggen keeps the land, Taguet shall gather the crop, the same with the garden produce, Schaggen is to pay for the fencing, etc. As to the property of the Company, it has been turned over and inventoried by Jaquet and everything of any value has been received and marked: some necessary articles have been sent to Christina, others are shipped on board the ship 'de Bever,' to be taken to the Manhattans with thirteen men." "I trust, that in the affair of the late Commander here, your Honor may form a better opinion as has been put forward by many and believed."

Upon the English succeeding the Dutch Jaquet was commissioned a Justice for the jurisdiction of New Castle

and Dependencies.

The records of the "Court of New Castle on Delaware, 1676-1681," were printed by the Colonial Society

of Pennsylvania in 1904.

September 23, 1676, "Edmond Andross, Esq<sup>r</sup> Seigneur of Sausmarez Lieu<sup>t</sup> and Govern<sup>r</sup> Genna<sup>ll</sup> under his Royall Highnesse James Duke of Yorke and Albany etc. of all his Territories in America" commissions Mr. John Moll, Mr. Henry Ward, Mr. William Tom, Mr. ffoppe outhout, Mr. John Paul Jaquet, Mr. Gerret Otto to be Justices of the Peace in the Jurisdiction of New Castle & dependencies." The original commission is in possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

September 28, 1676, Andros issued instructions for the Justices. The books of laws established by His Royal Highness and practiced in New York, Long Island and dependencies was to be in force and practice on the Delaware; constables were to be chosen yearly; three rost, he says: "I have received since my arrival here your Honor's letter of the 20th of April, whereby I learn of the complaints and lamentations of Siew Allerton and Schaggen, against and to the charges of Jaquet as appears from two different requests. I have heard and examined the matter and thus found that there was more passion than reason (at the bottom); but I have made the parties so far agree, that the question with the other one (Allerton) is closed. Schaggen keeps the land, Jaquet shall gather the crop, the same with the garden produce, Schaggen is to pay for the fencing, etc. As to the property of the Company, it has been turned over and inventoried by Jaquet and everything of any value has been received and marked, some necessary articles have been sent to Christina, others are shipped on board the ship 'de Rever,' to be taken to the Manhattans with thirteen men." "I trust, that in the affair of the late Commander here, your Honor may form a better opinion as has been put forward by many and believed."

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courts were ordered at New Castle, Upland and the Whorekill; three of the justices were to be a quorum and have power of courts of sessions and decide all matters under twenty pounds without appeal; the eldest justice to preside; above twenty pounds and for crimes affecting life, limb or banishment an appeal was to lie to the court of assizes; matters under five pounds were to be determined without a jury unless desired by the parties, also matters of equity: the Court of New Castle was to be held once a month, beginning the first Tuesday; all necessary by-laws or orders made by the courts were to be of force for a year; no fines were to be imposed except by order of court; the court was to have power to regulate the court and officer's fees, which should not exceed the rates in the "Book of Laws" nor be under half the value thereof; there was to be a high sheriff for the jurisdiction of New Castle, River and Bay who should have power to appoint an under sheriff or marshall to be approved by the court; the sheriff to act as a principal officer for the execution of the laws but not as a justice of the peace or magistrate; dockets were required for the proceedings of the court, public orders from the governor, names of the magistrates and officers, with the dates of their admission, and the records were to be kept in English: a clerk was to be recommended for each court to the governor who should have custody of the records; all writs, warrants and proceedings at law were to be in His Majesty's name; no rates were to be imposed or levies made within the jurisdiction of New Castle, River or Bay without the approval of the governor, unless upon extraordinary occasion, in which case the governor was to receive an account; that upon any levy being made an account was to be made to the next general court to be passed upon and sent to the governor for approval; composure or arbitration was recommended, with the consent of the parties; applications for land were to be made to the court in whose jurisdiction it was desired, the court to sit once a month for such purpose or oftener if occasion required, the court to certify

courts were ordered at New Castle, Upland and the matters under twenty pounds without sppeal; the eldest exceed the rates in the "Book of Laws" nor be under approved by the court; the shenff to act as a principal of the peace or magistrate; dockets were required for to the governor any land not taken up and improved, proportions not to exceed fifty acres per head, unless in extraordinary cases for good cause, the certificate for which was to be sufficient warrant for the surveyor to survey the same, whose return should be sent to the governor for approval.

November 8, 1676, the court presented a petition to Governor Andros requesting the Law Book of His Royal Highness; complaining of the burden to the militia of the town of New Castle to watch in the fort and suggesting that a small number of soldiers be kept there; requesting a lesser seal for the court's use; authority to erect a prison, which they recommended should be built within the fort enclosure; recommending that the sheriff should be responsible for escapes; requesting approval of an order allowing forty guilders for a wolf's head to be levied of the public; authority to make a levy for public expenses; that fines might be applied for public expenses; that vessels might load and unload only at New Castle and keep their stores there; and that a public weigh-house and store-house might be erected.

November 11, 1676, Mr. Walter Wharton was appointed to view the dykes and ascertain the repairs that had been made, as claims for the work had been presented.

November 11, 1676, the subscribers to the support of Aemilius de Ring, Reader in the Church, were ordered to make payment and the under-sheriff was authorized to collect the subscriptions.

December 8, 1676, Captain John Colier declared that he had sent a letter to Major John Fenwick stating that he had been directed by the Governor to request him to come to New Castle; that Fenwick had refused; that he had been at the latter's house December 7th, when he told Fenwick that since he refused to come to New Castle he was directed by the Governor to require him to appear before the Council at New York, to which Fenwick replied that he was not aware that the Governor at New York had anything to do with him and that

to the governor any land not taken up and improved, proportions not to exceed fifty acres per head, unless in extraordinary cases for good cause, the certificate for which was to be sufficient warrant for the surveyor to survey the same, whose return should be sent to the

governor for approval.

November 8, 1676, the court presented a petition to Governor Andres requesting the Law Book of His Royal Highness; complaining of the burden to the militia of the town of New Castle to watch in the fort and suggesting that a small number of soldiers be kept there; requesting a lesser seal for the court's use; authority to creet a prison, which they recommended should be built within the fort enclosure; recommending that the sheriff should be responsible for escapes; requesting approval of an order allowing forty guilders for a wolf's head to be levied of the public; authority to make a levy for public expenses; that these might be applied for public expenses; that vessels might load and unload only at New Castle and keep their stores there; and that a public weigh-house and store house night be erected.

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he would not obey any order except that which might be issued by the King or the Duke of York and that he would not leave his house unless he was carried out and that anyone should attempt to take him at their peril. It was decided, that as Fenwick was in contempt of the Governor's order, force should be used to take him to New York and a warrant was issued to Lieutenant Johannes de Haas, Mr. Michael Baron and Mr. George More, under-sheriff, directing them to levy twelve soldiers and bring him to New Castle.

December 8, 1676, a copy of the minutes of the Council at New York of December 5, 1675, was read mentioning that the letter of Captain Edmond Cantwell had been considered, concerning the arrival of Major John Fenwick and others at Delaware and their pretences, and that it had been resolved that Fenwick was not to be acknowledged as proprietor of any land in Delaware, although he should be used civilly, he and those with him to pay the same duties as other subjects, and that, if he or they desired land to the Westward, fitting proportions should be assigned them.

January 6, 1676, the court ordered that the inhabitants of *Oppoquenemen* Creek, St. George's Creek and precincts should make a highway from the Oppoquenemen to the Red Lion, Mr. John Larkinton being appointed overseer, who was empowered to notify the inhabitants that one out of each family should attend to the work and that those refusing should pay ten guilders for each day's neglect, Casparus Herman and Dick Laurens being appointed to lay out the road.

May 13 and 14, 1675, it was ordered by the Governor that the church or place of meeting in the Town of New Castle should be regulated by the court; that the place for meeting at Craine Hook should continue; that the church at Tinnecum Island should serve for Upland and parts adjacent; that the magistrates at Upland should cause a church or place of meeting to be built at *Wickegkoo* (Wiccacoe) for the inhabitants at Passayunk and upwards, the court to be empowered to make

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a levy for said building and to decide upon a salary for the minister; it was also ordered that a way be made between town and town on the River; that a ferry should be maintained at the falls on the west side of the River; that selling of liquor to savages should be prohibited in excess of two gallons at a time, under penalty of five pounds for each offense; that corn or grain should not be distilled under like penalty.

May 15, 1675, Governor Andros recommended the several courts of Delaware River and Bay to have the corn mills kept in repair and, if they saw cause, to have others built for the use of the inhabitants, and that they should regulate the tolls for grinding.

February 8, 167.6/7, Thomas Wolleston was sworn

as under-sheriff, marshal and cryer of the court.

The same date it was resolved by the commander and court that a prison with a dungeon under it should be built in the fort, also a weigh-house, the manner of building the same being left to Capt. John Colier and Mr. Moll.

February 8, 1676/7, a number of marks of cattle and

hogs were recorded.

In view of Major John Fenwick's authority being denied by the Governor and Council at New York, on the East side of Delaware River, a number of suits were brought before the court at New Castle against Fenwick to recover the price paid for lands granted by him.

May 15, 1677, Mr. Dunster testified that lately he had been at the house of Col. Coursey in Maryland and had heard that he was coming to Delaware with a number of followers and that he had been warned about the matter, whereupon the Court ordered Capt. Cantwell to summon his company of militia to appear at the fort at New Castle; if, however, Col. Coursey should send notice of his coming and the reason, he was to be honorably received and his charges borne, but if he came as a private person on surprisal no notice was to be taken and he was to be permitted to quarter where he chose.

June 6 and 7, 1677, John Mathews was admitted as an attorney.

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June 6 and 7, 1677, John Mathews was admitted as an attorney.

A letter of Governor Andros dated April 6, 1677, was read, in which it was ordered that none should watch or ward in the town or fort but such as lived in or near the town, alarms and extraordinary occasions excepted; that levys should be made by the poll; that a treasurer should be appointed who should render an account yearly; that past and next year fines were granted for public expenses; that the courts were empowered to prove wills and grant administrations but that if the estate should exceed twenty pounds the matters should be remitted to New York to be recorded in the secretary's office: the court was authorized to recommend a vendue-master who should give security and account yearly; the commons was to be regulated by the court as equally as possible, and also the dykes, sluice and fence; all persons on the Delaware River or Bay leaving the jurisdiction were to be published and those aiding were to be liable to the penalty; any criminal or servant prisoner running away was to be pursued with hue and cry; leave was granted for sloops to go up the river for that year's effects or for former debts; five guns, thirty hoes and an anchor of rum were to be paid the Indians as balance for the land at the falls, the remaining part of the land between the old and the new purchase, as also the Island, called "Peter Alrich's," or so much as was not already purchased as the Indians might part with, concerning which Capt. Israel Helm was to inquire for the owners and to bring them before the court at New Castle in order to conclude the sales.

June 8, 1677, the court replied to the foregoing letter, stating that as none lived near the town except those at Swanwick and, in case they were exempted from watching and warding, most of those living in the town would probably go to Swanwick in order to also be exempt, chiefly those who were not housekeepers, wherefore they requested that a small number of soldiers might be furnished to watch at the fort who might be serviceable upon all occasions; they reported that a levy by the poll could not be made without a general meeting or

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At the same court it was ordered, that for all hogs found unringed through their noses upon the commons or in the fly of the town, the owners should pay a fine of ten guilders for each hog unringed, suckling pigs excepted, said fine to be levied by distress, one-half to the informer and the other half for the King.

July 12, 1677, Capt. John Colier complained of an assault committed upon him by Dr. Thomas Spry; the latter was obliged to crave pardon of the former in open court and to pay a fine of two hundred guilders, which Colier gave to Aemilius de Ring, the Reader of the church.

July 24, 1677, the commission of Capt. Christoffer Billop as commander on Delaware River and Bay was read, dated August 14, 1677, signed by Andros; also his commission as sub-collector of customs, dated August 13, 1677.

Commission of Ephraim Herman as clerk of permits entries and clearings was read, dated August 13, 1677.

May 19, 1677, it was resolved by the Council at New York that *pleading attorneys* be no longer permitted to practice except for pending causes.

A letter from Andros dated August 14, 1677, was read, wherein he said that he found no need for a general court on the River, as every court had power to make levies for the highways, poor or other necessaries, and that the clerk should be receiver and pay all by order of the court; the appointment of a vendue-master was authorized, who should give security and not receive above six per cent.; the court was also directed to see that licenses were obtained for retailing.

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September 18, 1677, Mr. Samuel Land, constable of New Castle, was ordered to make a list of the taxable persons from sixteen to sixty.

A similar order issued to Mr. Charles Ramsey, constable in Christiana.

October 23, 1677, Andros authorized Commander Capt. Christoffer Billop to swear the justices for a further term of office, their commission bearing date September 23, 1677.

At a court held October 6, 1677, Thomas Wharcup, of the ship "Martha," having arrived the day before from Hull, requested leave to take the ship up the river, saying that he had no goods for merchandise on board: the sub-collector Capt. Christoffer Billop desired the advice of the court; the court having examined Capt. Dyre's letters to Thomas Olive and the other commissioners and also to Capt. Billop, decided, that for settling the river, the ship should be premitted to go up the river, duties to be paid; and it was further ordered that as Dr. Daniel Wells declared that Capt. Dyre at New York had remitted the customs of two per cent. upon utensils and other uncustomed goods, and the master declaring that he had on board none of the value of six pounds in merchandise but that all the lading consisted of necessaries for building and settling plantations, the duties were remitted.

At a Court held November 9, 1677, a list of wolves' heads was presented.

A taxable list was presented containing three hundred and seven taxable persons.

March 7, 1677/8, Mr. John Yeo, minister, being lately come from Maryland, produced his letters of orders and license to read divine service, administer the Holy Sacraments and preach the word of God, according to the laws of the Church of England, whereupon he was accepted.

At a court held May 9, 1678, Capt. Cantwell declared that he had been in N. Salem, *alias* Swamptown, April 30, 1678, where Major John Fenwick had ordere 1 a meeting of the inhabitants of the East side of the River;

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At a court held May 9, 1678, Capt. Cantwell declared that he had been in N. Salem, alias Swamptown, April 39, 1678, where Major John Penwick had ordere? a meeting of the inhabitants of the East side of the River;

that Fenwick appointed some officers (naming them) and declared that he would appoint others and caused his secretary to read several papers, as His Majesty's patent to His Royal Highness, the latter's to Lord Berkeley and a copy of the latter's commission to him, Fenwick, and whereupon he demanded in His Majesty's name the submission of the people as his right and Propriety, and, placing a paper upon the table in the form of an oath, several people signed, whereupon he. Cantwell, told Fenwick that most of the people present did not know what had been read, to which reply was made that they knew well enough to take his land away; that he, Cantwell, replied that a levy on that side had been laid by the Court of New Castle; Fenwick denied the right of the court to lay same and said that whoever paid the levy should forfeit their land and privileges; Cantwell asked him if he would bear them out and save them harmless: Fenwick replied he would answer before the King and that the people should stand in their own defense if any came to make levy and also forbid Mr. ffopp outhout to act in behalf of the Court of New Castle, upon forfeiture of his estate; Cantwell replied that the Governor had commissioned Mr. ffopp outhout: Fenwick denied the authority of the Governor on the East side and contended that he was subject to no man but God and the King, he also said he would do nothing without the advice of his council, whom he would appoint shortly, Justice flopp outhout declared he was present with Cantwell and confirmed his statement. Mr. Machiel Baron and Reynier von Heyst also confirmed Cantwell. Johannes van Immen declared that he was at the house of one Gilles Giljamsen on the East side the previous April when Major Fenwick came there and inquired what he and the rest meant by not coming to Salem, as others had done, and acknowledging him as Lord and Proprietor of the place, to which he and the others replied how could they recognize him when they paid taxes to the New Castle Court, whereupon Fenwick replied that none who paid the same should enjoy a foot of land

plied how could they recognize him when they paid taxes to the New Castle Court, whereupon Fenwick replied on the Eastern shore. Thereupon the Court addressed a letter to Governor Andros and enclosed him the fore-

going accounts concerning Fenwick.

June 5, 1678, a communication from the Council at New York, dated May 25, 1678, enclosing an order of the Council, was read: the commander and justices at New Castle were directed to notify Fenwick that, according to his parole, he should forbear assuming any power of government on the East side of the river or anywhere else unless he could produce more authentic authority from England and, in case he refused, they were to require him to come to New York to make answer for breach of his parole and, if he refused to comply, they, with the Sheriff, should seize his person.

Pursuant thereto the Court addressed a letter June 3, 1678, to Fenwick requesting him to comply with the

order.

Fenwick replied, June 4, 1678, that the cause of his imprisonment had been on account of his refusal to give security for good behavior and not to act in a public capacity, the right of which he claimed by virtue of letters patent of the King, the Duke's grant to John, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Cartaret and Lord Berkeley's deed to him, all of which had been produced before the Governor and his Council by the commissioners who arrived at New York the previous August and, whereupon, he had obtained liberty to go home without any obligation and to return the sixth of October following, which he had done at the peril of his life: that he had been put under arrest to appear at the court of assizes and that he did not consider himself bound to return except upon an order of that court, the order being relaxed concerning five hundred pounds bond for good behavior and not to act; he denied that his parole required him to return; he asserted that he was entitled to act upon Lord Berkeley's authority and that if he was found to be a transgressor against the King, in pursuance of his colony, that there was time enough for him to suffer when required by the King to make answer.

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June 5, 1678, the Court of New Castle reported the foregoing to the Council at New York and also that Fenwick continued to assume full power, sending his warrant with six or eight persons to apprehend one John Edridge, etc.; that Fenwick had declared that he would stand out and would not be taken alive, not even by the Governor himself; that they thought he would not be taken without bloodshed.

July 17, 1678, the Court deputed Justice John Moll to appear before the Governor and request leave for an orthodox minister; that more magistrates might be appointed and to suggest for such office Johannes Dehaes, William Semple, Abram Man and Hendrick Williams; that a coroner be appointed; that the corrected law book and seal, as theretofore promised, might be sent; that weights and measures be established: to acquaint the Governor concerning Major Fenwick's endeavoring to make levies on the East side: to ask leave to make a levy for debts concerning the fort, the dyke, etc.; to inquire whether the lands of decedents or fugitives might be seized for their debts, in case the personalty was insufficient; to request that trade with the neighboring colony of Maryland might be permitted for obtaining negroes, servants and utensils; to ask leave to clear vessels without touching at New York, in which case they might send them to England, the Barbadoes and other places; to represent the actions of the Commander Capt. Billop since the Governor's departure, to the end that the poor people might not be oppressed, and to mention certain enumerated complaints against the Commander.

June 21, 1678, the Council at New York complained to the court concerning its delay in executing the order concerning Major Fenwick, whereupon the Court addressed a letter, dated July 17, 1678, to Fenwick advising him that Capt. Billop had communicated to them his willingness to comply with the order of the Council of New York to surrender himself according to his parole and requesting him to reply whether he would forbear

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assuming any power of government within the space of twenty days and appear at New York.

July 24, 1678, the Court advised the Council at New New York that the commander and the high sheriff had brought Fenwick to New Castle and that it was thought best to send him by land to New York.

This is the last reference of Jaquet acting as a justice. October 26, 1678, a new commission issued for the justices of New Castle in which his name is omitted.

At a court held December 3, 1678, Mr. John Moll and Mr. Jean Paul Jaquet were appointed elders of the church.

September 25, 1682, a letter was addressed by the Church of New Castle, South River, to the Classis of Amsterdam, signed by Jean Paul Jaquet, Elder, Jean Moll, Elder, Engel . . . , Deacon, and Jan Bisch, Deacon, in which they related that after the death of Domine Welius, who had been sent there about twentyfive years prior thereto, they were without a preacher of the Reformed Church for nearly twenty-three years, until Domine Petrus Tesschenmacker, then only a licentiate, came to them four years previously and was advanced to the ministry by the Classis of New York but who had left them to accept a call at Bergen, East New Jersey; that they had learned that Domine Jacobus Coleman, former minister at Huys, in Flanders, was without a place and they requested that he might be sent to administer at New Castle; they said they lived among many Lutherans and a greater number of Quakers. (Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York, 1901, vol. II, page 823).

March 26, 1669, Governor Lovelace confirmed Ja-

quet's possession of two hundred acres.

May 23, 1671, Governor Lovelace confirmed Jaquet's possession of a town lot at New Castle.

July 20, 1677, Commander Capt. John Colier certified that he had that day been with Mr. Jean Paul Jaquet on the East side of Delaware River upon the

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latter's land called "Steen-hooke" and had put him in full possession of said land.

Scharf, in his History of Delaware, page 630, says:

"From the abandonment of the town of Christianaham, about 1664, until 1731 no attempt was made to found a settlement or lay out a town on the river north of New Castle, within the limits of Delaware, and the territory now embraced in Wilmington was mostly in five large tracts that about 1671 came into possession of John (Anderson) Stalcop, Dr. Tymen Stidham, Jacob Vanderveer, Jean Paul Jaquet and Peter Alrich, who were all residents under the Dutch, either at New Amstel (New Castle) or at Fort Altena."

February 22, 1682, Jaquet received from Penn a grant of two hundred acres, the warrant for the resurvey of which was issued February 3, 1684.

February 22, 1683, Jaquet and his two sons, Peter and John, Ir., took oath of allegiance to the English.

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He died prior to July 20, 1685, when the sons of "Jean Paul Jaquet, deceased," presented a petition to the court concerning a ferry on their land.

Paul Jaquet, son of Governor Jean Paul Jaquet, settled in the County of Salem, New Jersey, upon the land called "Steyne Hook" of which his father had been dispossessed by Major John Fenwick and which was subsequently restored to him. Paul's daughter Maria married Baron Isaac Banér, who was born in 1662 and was son of Baron Claës Banér of Sweden. He came to Pennsylvania circa 1695 and lived first at Philadelphia. He had been in the service of William III of England. He spent some time at Christiana and went to Penn's Neck where he married; he died November 11, 1713, and was buried at Swedesboro Church. The Rev. Mr. Lidenius, upon his return to Sweden in 1724, represented to Lieutenant General Baron John Banér and also to

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Royal Counsellor Count Axel Banér, brothers of Baron Isaac Banér, the condition of the children of the latter in America, in consequence of which they were brought to Sweden in 1727. (Acrelius' History of New Sweden, page 324.) The Banér pedigree published in Svenska Adelus Attartaflor utgifna, by Gabriel Aurep, Stockholm, 1858, agrees with Acrelius and gives the following information of the children:

Claes, born at Philadelphia, 1706; died 1708.

Maria, born February 20, 1708, at Philadelphia; died October 14, 1746; married in 1737 Major General Baron Schering Rosenhane, born 1685 and died 1738; she married second, *Ofversten* Werner Detlof von Schwerin, born 1694, died 1762.

Gustaf, born at Philadelphia, April 15, 1710; died at Stockholm February 25, 1792; Colonel Commander.

Paul, born at Philadelphia, April 3, 1712; died March 21, 1787; Lieutenant Captain; married Baroness Anna Charlotta Kurck, born April 17, 1718, died August 4, 1774, daughter of Major Baron Knut Kurck. They had:

Johan Axel, born 1754; died January 11, 1774. Anna Maria, born August 31, 1755; died Feb-

ruary 14, 1786.

Pehr Gustaf, born January 8, 1759; died November 15, 1802; married June 9, 1791, Countess Hedwig Eleonora Creutz, born November 3, 1763, died November 28, 1806, daughter of Count Jacob Ernst Creutz and Countess Christina Magdalena Stenbock. Their daughter,

Anna Magdalena, born February 23, 1794; died March 2, 1814; married June 23, 1812, Baron Bleckert Gustaf Wilhelm Wacht-

meister, of Björkö.

Another descendant of Governor Jaquet was Major Peter Jaquett, whose epitaph at the Old Swedes' Church, Wilmington, Delaware, is as follows: Royal Counsellor Count Axel Banér, brothers of Baron Isaac Banér, the condition of the children of the latter in America, in consequence of which they were brought to Sweden in 1727. (Acreius' History of New Sweden, page 324.) The Baner pedigree published in Svenska Adelus Attertaflor utgifun, by Gabriel Aurep, Stockholm, 1858, agrees with Acrelius and gives the following information of the children.

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Another descendant of Governor Jaquet was Major Peter Jaquett, whose epitaph at the Old Swedes' Church, Wilmington, Delaware, is as follows:

"Sacred to the Memory of Major Peter Jaquett, a distinguished officer of the Revolutionary Army, who died at his residence, Long Hook Farm, near this City, September 13th, A. D. 1834, in the 8oth year of his age, having been born on the 6th of April, 1755. On the fourth of January, 1776, he ioined the Delaware Regiment, and until April, 1780, he was in every general engagement under Washington, which took place in Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and the Eastern States. He was then ordered to join the Southern army under General Gates, and with the brave de Kalb he was in the Battle of Camden, on the 16th of August, in which the Delaware Regiment, consisting of eight companies, was reduced to two only, of ninety-six men each, the command of which devolved upon his brave comrade Kirkwood and himself, as the oldest officers left of the gallant band. He was also in the battle of Guilford Court House, the second Battle of Camden, and in the battle of Eutaw Springs. He assisted in the siege of 'o6, and capture of the village of that name; and was also in every action and skirmish under General Green. in whose army he remained until the capture of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. He returned to his native State in 1782, and in 1794 married Eliza P. Price, daughter of Elisha Price, of Chester, Pa., and, as a farmer, he lived upon his paternal estate until his death. The brave and honored soldier, the kind and obliging neighbor and friend."

In an obituary printed shortly after Major Jaquett's death it was said that

"In the disastrous battle of Camden, and in the heart of that bloody conflict, the Baron de Kalb, while standing a little in advance of the Delaware Regiment, had his horse shot under him, and as he lay endeavoring to extricate himself, a British horseman rushed upon him and was upon the point of

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putting the gallant veteran to the sword, when Jaquett sprung from the line, drove his spontoon through the Englishman, in sight of both armies, secured his horse and placed the Baron upon it. At this moment de Kalb received a fatal wound and fell into the arms of Jaquett, to whom his last words were expressive of gratitude and admiration for his daring act."

Major Jaquett was a member of the Society of the Cincinnati and his diploma of membership, signed by Generals Washington and Knox, and his two swords are in possession of the writer. The swords bear the inscription:

"Ne me tirez pas sans raison, ne me remettez point sans honneur."

Another descendant was Lieut. Joseph Jaquett of Col. Samuel Miles' Rifle Regiment, Pennsylvania Line, who was killed in the battle on Long Island, August 27, 1776.

A more recent descendant was the Rev. Joseph Jaquett, who was born at Philadelphia, March 11, 1794, and died May 24, 1869. He revised the first American edition of the Hebrew Bible, published in 1849.

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## Edward Shippen,

DEPUTY GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1703-4.

By Robert Hare Davis. Read June 5, 1911.

I have taken for the subject of my remarks this evening my ancestor, Edward Shippen, the son of William Shippen, of Presburg, Cheshire, and afterwards of Methley, Yorkshire, England.

Edward Shippen, who afterwards became President of the Council of Pennsylvania, was born in 1639; was bred to mercantile pursuits in England and emigrated to Boston in 1668. That he was a man of force and intelligence and business capacity is shown by the fact that when he left Boston finally to live in Philadelphia in 1693 he brought with him an estate of about ten thousand pounds.

I shall speak this evening as well of the characteristics of the people who settled in New England, Pennsylvania and Virginia, as of the characteristics of Shippen himself. That which we call destiny provides instruments suited either for the construction of society or its destruction as seem to work out long and final results.

Edward Shippen brought to Pennsylvania a number of very happy qualities which made him with his force of character soon fit in to the life of the social and political situation. Born an Episcopalian and afterwards becoming a Quaker or Friend, it no doubt was evident to him that whilst one man preferred one set of religious principles and another another, yet on the whole, any man who lived thoroughly up to the religious principles of his time could not but be a good citizen.

His qualities of mind seem to have attracted the attention of the Proprietors, and it was not long before he was holding important offices in Pennsylvania; for in 1695 he was elected one of the Provincial Councillors

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and was returned each year for a number of years. In 1700 he was called to the Board by Penn and at the same time was a Justice for Philadelphia, and, as a large owner of property, was named in the Commission of Property.

Penn named him in the Charter, October 25, 1701, as the first Mayor of the City of Philadelphia. He found in him a man of courage, integrity, intelligence and sagacity. He became President of the Council in 1702, and, on the death of Hamilton of New Jersey in 1703, became the head of the Government of that Colony and continued as such until the arrival of the new governor, Evans.

He seems to have been a man who believed that when you do a good thing, do it well and you can not do it too often, for he was married three times. First to Elizabeth Lybrand, then to Rebecca Richardson, a widow, and thirdly to Esther Jane, also a widow, by all of whom he had children.

The children left by Shippen received from their father many of those qualities that are calculated to make a man stand fast in the position in life in which he is born: and they also received from him those characteristics that enabled them to take an active and permanent part in the community in which they lived; his son, Joseph Shippen, was a prominent man in affairs. was interested with Doctor Franklin in founding the Society for Mutual Information and Public Good. In turn he left these qualities to Edward Shippen, his son. a man who was prominent in Pennsylvania and held Judicial office in the State. He laid out Shippensburg, was one of the founders of the College of New Jersey, generally known as Princeton College, and was a member of its first Board of Trustees; he was one of the founders of the University of Pennsylvania, and was himself a man of, for those days, finished education.

In turn his son, Edward Shippen, became one of the leading citizens of the State. He studied law under Tench Francis, was admitted to the Bar, and also studied

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In turn his son, Edward Shippen, became one of the leading citizens of the State. He studied law under Tench Francis, was admitted to the Bar, and also studied

in the London Inns of Court; was Judge of the Admiralty Court in Philadelphia; was selected by the Governor to quiet a disturbance at Lancaster, caused by Indian massacres in the western part of the State, a position which he filled successfully.

And so I might go on to the more recent period of those Shippens whose names and reputations are more familiar to us as being nearer our times. It is evident that the Shippens possessed qualities which drew people to them and made them not only liked but respected and trusted.

It is rather remarkable to observe in how many families the blood of Edward Shippen runs. I once heard a gentleman say that, so far as he could see, the Shippens, the Willings, and the Norrises were the Romuluses and Remuses of Philadelphia, for there is scarcely a family of note in Philadelphia, that is a strictly Philadelphia family, which has not a strain of the blood of one of those families in them.

New England, a cold and inhospitable country, was settled by a cold, formal set of people, not purposely but by accident. Destiny seems to have put them in a region which attuned well with their character. When we come to Pennsylvania, we find that by a happy provision it was largely settled by what are called Quakers a people opposed to war, of gentle character, and who believed thoroughly in being at peace with all men. Again, Virginia was settled by men who had been accustomed to the ease and luxury of the England of that day, and were largely the younger sons of people of wealth. They brought with them, therefore, a cast of mind that goes with an aristocratic society. Those who possessed the ability to become men of mark in that community soon established a sort of aristocracy that became more and more fixed until they had convinced themselves, and a good many other people, that there were no families like the first families of Virginia. The faculty of reasoning is not given to every one, and it does not seem to have dawned on most of them that. in the London Inns of Court; was Judge of the Admiralty Court in Philadelphia; was selected by the Covernor to quiet a disturbance at Lancaster, caused by Indian massacres in the western part of the State, a position which he filled successfully.

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given wealth and education, you will always have a society of education, culture and manners, no matter what sort of government it may be under which it lives.

The New England colonies were governed by a system of hard and fast religious and secular laws, so that when the people had not faith they had fear, either of which is well calculated to keep the average man in control, if he has a wholesome faith or a wholesome fear.

In Virginia, on the other hand, the government was practically that of the large landed proprietors, the poorer men having little or no influence in affairs of state.

In Pennsylvania, whilst Penn, and afterwards the Penn family, were practically the sole owners of all land, those people to whom they sold, whether large or small owners, were always allowed to participate in the election of officers and the making of the laws; and today the influence of Shippen and his compeers is to be seen in the general government of Pennsylvania, which differed at the beginning of the Revolution very much from New England and also from Virginia.

Zangwill, the Jewish writer, in one of his books, speaks of the United States as the "melting pot," meaning thereby that the various nationalities and races of the world, whether Jew or Gentile, Oriental or African, are all being fused into one solid mass of people, ultimately to be the American race. I think most writers, in dealing with the Jews, who possess many good qualities, have left out of their computation that the Jew is racially and socially distinct from any other people who have come to this country to make it their home in this, that through countless ages they have preserved practically the Jewish blood, the Jewish customs and the Jewish laws among themselves intact. They are, and always will be, an imperium in imperio, and are therefore always in, but never of, the country in which they live.

In a much smaller, but much more real way, Pennsylvania was the melting pot of the Friend, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian and the German Lutheran. Of course, those of the same denomination as Penn, that is,

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Here destiny again showed a guiding hand. There soon came to be friction between the government of the Province, which, of course, was in the hands of the Friends, and these Scotch-Irish settlers. There was constant dissatisfaction, turmoil and trouble occurring and recurring between people who looked at things from an entirely different point of view. The Scotch-Irish, increasing in numbers, became more and more aggressive, so that when the War of Independence came they were able to throw the weight of the power of the State in favor of the Revolution, to which the Quakers were largely opposed, saying that they were men of peace, and in which the phlegmatic German felt comparatively little interest. It was indeed fortunate that the Scotch-Irish had the power so to do, which is another illustration of the fact that there is "A destiny which shapes our ends, rough hew them as we may."

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# Ionathan Law,

GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT, 1742-51.

By Ernest Law. Read October 2, 1911.

I shall limit my paper this evening to some records which I find compiled in memoirs of my father and shall not attempt to amplify or enlarge, but read them to you as they are, though rather condensed into a short account of the activities and problems of the period covered by Governor Law's term of office, with record of the esteem and affection which during life he enjoyed and to which he was deservedly entitled upon his death. I find that Jonathan Law, Governor of the Colony of Connecticut, from whom I derive the privilege of addressing you this evening, was descended from Richard Law who came from England in the year 1634, one of the early inhabitants of Wethersfield, and afterwards one of the first settlers of the town of Stamford, Conn.. in 1641. He left one son, Jonathan, who afterwards removed to Milford, in that State, where his son Jonathan, his only son and the subject of this paper, was born August 6, 1674. His mother was Sarah, daughter of George Clark, Sr., a planter. He was educated at Harvard College, then the only Academical Institution in New England. He received his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1605, his class consisting of twenty-two members, a large one for that day. The law was the profession which he selected and, after passing through the course of studies usual at that period, he was admitted to the Bar, and fixed his residence in his native town in 1608. He soon became distinguished as a lawyer and an advocate and after a few years was made Chief Justice of New Haven County Court. This office he held for five years, and in May, 1715, he was transferred to the Bench of the Superior Court of the Colony as one of the

### Vonathan Naw.

# GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT, 1742-51

By ERNEST LAW. Rend October 2, 1911,

Associate Judges, where he continued with the exception of one year till 1725. At the annual election in 1717 he was chosen an Assistant, an office of great trust and importance, being ex-officio a legislator, a member of the Council and a judicial magistrate throughout the Colony. This he resigned in 1725, on his election to the office of Lieutenant Governor, and the same year he was appointed by the General Assembly Chief Justice of the Superior Court, both of which offices he held until the year 1742, when he was elected Governor, and continued in that office, being re-elected yearly until his death, which, after a short and painful illness of three days, occurred at Milford, November 6, 1750, at the age of seventy-six years. He left seven sons and a widow, his fifth wife. Jonathan Law was married five times:

First, Ann Elliott, daughter of Rev. Joseph Elliott, of Guilford.

Second, Abigail Arnold, of Rhode Island.

Third, Abigail Andrew, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Andrew, a Fellow of Harvard and Rector of Yale. She was a granddaughter of Governor Treat.

Fourth, Sarah Burr, of Fairfield.

Fifth, Eunice Hall, daughter of John Hall, of Wallingford, and aunt of Lyman Hall, of Georgia, one of the signers of the Declaration; from this last marriage my branch is descended.

His administration was at a time of great interest in the history of the State, of the mother country, of the world. The war with France brought the Colonies into a dangerous conflict with the enemy and their Indian allies and, under the wise guidance of their rulers and by their own exertions, not assisted always as freely as they ought to have been by the Home Government, they did more than their part in promoting the success of every warlike operation in this country. Professor Kingsley, in his New England records, and I quote him at some length, writes that early in the eighteenth century a wonderful attention to religion had been excited in various parts of Connecticut. It seems to have been a

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His administration was at a time of great interest in the history of the State, of the mother country, of the world. The war with France brought the Colonies into a dangerous conflict with tine enemy and their Indian allies and, under the wise guidance of their rulers and by allies and, under the wise guidance of their rulers and by their own exertions, not assisted always as treely as they ought to have been by the Home Government, they did more than their part in promoting the success of every warlike operation in this country. Professor Kingsley, in his New England records, and I quote him at some length, writes that early in the eight-centh century a wonderful attention to religion had been excited in various parts of Connecticut. It seems to nave been a

genuine revival, not unmingled perhaps with some slight alloy of enthusiasm. Soon after this the celebrated Mr. Whitefield, whose sincere and honest piety Cowper has immortalized in the most glowing colors, whose eloquence vanguished on one occasion even Franklin's philosophical caution after preaching with the greatest applause and effect at the South, came to New England at the pressing invitation of the clergymen of Boston. On his return he passed through Connecticut, where the people crowded to hear him and sunk under the weight of his powerful Christian eloquence. His example seems to have been followed by others of weaker intellect and less judgment; by men who mistook the illusions of their own minds for the operation of the Holy Spirit, and thereby encouraged the wildest extravagances of sentiment and conduct. Some of the "New Lights" (as they were called) boldly claimed their intimate communion with the Almighty in raptures, ecstacies, trances and visions. A few of the clergy were not free from these errors and forsook their own charge to labor in the vineyards of others. In some counties lay-preachers sprang up who pretended to divine impulses and inward impressions and professed a supernatural power of discerning between those that were converted and those that were not. Confusion prevailed at their meetings and, instead of checking these unseemly disorders, the leaders labored to increase and extend them. Such excesses threw a shade on real piety and threatened to subvert the foundations of pure and genuine Christianity throughout the Colony. The Legislature, between whom and the Church there was then a much closer connection than at this day, in consequence of the numerous applications made to them for their interference and protection, enacted laws, the severity of which was not justifiable, but may in some measure be palliated when we consider the magnitude of the evil. A heated zeal and a misguided conscience, rather perhaps than a contempt of the authority of Government, gave rise in some counties to loud murmurs and great dissatisfac-

tion. Governor Law, although an ardent friend of the Gospel System in its original purity, opposed with all the energy he possessed this wild spirit of fanaticism. To him was its suppression in no small degree to be attributed. With the skill of an experienced pilot he kept his eye always fixed on the star of civil and religious liberty and steered the political bark unhurt amidst the dangers that surrounded it. It was during this term of service likewise that the expedition against Cape Breton was undertaken. The plan was formed by Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, and was executed by raw, undisciplined troops, ignorant of the arts of regular warfare, with the most brilliant success. He saw the great importance of this enterprise and labored with unwearied industry to prevent its failure. Governor Law was, unquestionably, a man of high talents and accomplishments, both natural and acquired. He was well acquainted with civil and ecclesiastical subjects and gradually rose by the force of his own exertions to the highest honors of his State. He was of a mild and placid temper, amiable in all the relations of domestic life and seems to have well discharged the duties imposed on him. I find a considerable number of his speeches to the Legislature whilst governor, most of them in his own handwriting, in which are embraced various topics of public interest and some of which relate to personal matters. These speeches relate to his correspondence with the administration in England and with Governor Clinton, Governor Shirley, Governor Green, Governor Wentworth and our agent at London. They refer to questions connected with the conduct of the war, the expedition to Canada, the West Indies, Nova Scotia, the defense of the northwest frontier, of the seaboard, the finances, the depreciation of the provincial currency, of the best means of preventing it, the counterfeiting of the bills of credit, to questions about the intestate law, distributing the estates of decedents equally instead of according to the law of primogeniture, which some, evidently the home government, sought to

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introduce, to the question of majority or plurality in the elections, the latter of which he sensibly advocated. and to ecclesiastical and some personal concerns which, however, were very sparingly introduced. And they exhibit a sound, practical, common sense which shows that he was well fitted for the duties of his station. It is said that he was a strong conservative in his religious opinions and a steady opponent of the revivalists of the day. Nature had endowed him with high talent and accomplishments which, with his acquaintance with civil and ecclesiastical subjects, placed him among the foremost men of the colony. He was a patron and strong supporter of Yale College and it was under his administration that its charter was obtained; his solicitude for its welfare is evinced in many ways and is referred to in an address to the Legislature, which I shall read in part, as it denotes to my mind the purity and simplicity of his character. "It becomes us to lay aside all private views and sinister respects, and I trust we all come here with a sincere design to promote the public good of the people who sent us, and at whose expense we come; and therein to advance the interest of the British crown by the authority whereof, under God, we are formed into one body corporate—that, as we are one body, we may have but one mind, and in our public capacity may we with one heart wisely consult the good of the whole, with as much industry and truth as we would our own personal interest in our private capacities. It's unreasonable to expect that in a body aggregate every individual member should have the same way of thinking in everything; yet if we can content ourselves with the results and determinations of the majority, by which we are authorized to act, we shall comply with our own constitution; but if we are otherwise minded we contradict our beings, and would destroy soon that which gives us our very existence. A step or two lower would sink us into anarchy and confusion, and every step higher would advance towards monarchy. How happy then should we esteem our Constitution, and cheerfully submit ourselves to the rules of

is said that he was a strong conservative in his religious accomplishments which, with his acquaintance with civil as it denotes to my mind the purity and simplicity of his who sent us, and at whose expense we come; and therein one mind, and in our public capacity may we with one it, the natural consequence whereof would be peace, and we might hope the God of peace would be with us and help us. It will be necessary for us to remember that we stand here in civil capacities, as State's or commonwealth's men, and consider what is the proper work and business for us to enter upon. I think it will be a mistake in us if we think we come here in the quality of divines to settle abstract points in divinity; and it has ever been of ill consequence to a State, where different sentiments in matters of religion have been permitted to break in upon and perplex the civil state, to the making of parties and visions in it, by means whereof the good of the whole is neglected and the administration tends only to the good of a party. Kings indeed should be nursing fathers to the Church of God, and there are things of a civil nature, without which human societies, civil or sacred, can't be subsisted. Proper measures, therefore, should be consulted by civil powers for that part of religious affairs which are of a civil nature, without imposing on men's consciences, that peace and good order may be kept and maintained. And if anything of this nature be found in our civil establishments that does exceed or come short of these limits, it may require the care and attention of this assembly to rectify it. . . . Two supreme authorities are inconsistent. . . . The true Christian rule is to be subject to the higher powers, where their commands are not contrary to the laws of God; but the Romish erroneous trend is, that there are no higher powers than their own to be subject to, and (they) assume the supremacy to themselves. To disobev magistrates is a doctrine destructive to all civil power, and cannot be cloaked under a conscientious pretence. That Moses and Aaron go hand in hand doubtless is expedient for the good and tranquility of any people. And if we compare the civil with our ecclesiastical constitution we shall find a perfect harmony between them. In our civil there is required a majority in the Upper House as well as in the Lower; in our lower courts, of the Court, as well as a concurrence of the country or

of parties and visions in it, by means whereof the good of the whole is neglected and the administration tends only Two supreme authorities are inconsistent. . . The true Christian rule is to be subject to the higher powers, (they) assume the supremacy to themselves. To disobey That Moses and Aaron to hand in hund doubtless is jury; in our ecclesiastic a concurrence of the major part of the ministers, as well as of the major part of the whole of the churches by their messengers and elders. Possibly this may be wanting among our ecclesiastics. that no appeal from our ecclesiastical courts in the con sociation to the delegates from the several conventions is provided for, as in civil affairs the last resort is to this assembly in some suitable form. Suffer not our ecclesiastic constitution, so agreeable to our civil polity, to be sapped and undermined for want of suitable precautions. Let not the indulgencies given to men of other professions be used by men whom you employ to set aside all the care and charge of this assembly in settling suitable bounds of parishes." He then notices some matters connected with the coast defense, the armed sloop and the battery at New London, and continues: "The unhappy circumstances of our college, which for want of support by due order and regulation has dispersed the students at an unusual season, should be rectified before your return, lest it suffer a total dissolu-Good and wholesome laws and orders ought to be made by the governors of the college and then duly executed; for youth there to be trained up in disobedience to them will lay a foundation for sedition and disregard for all human laws. A door seems to be opened at which men of the most corrupt principles may enter and mislead and corrupt unwary people, and it's much to be feared the Popish faction have their emissaries among us under disguise, as well as in other parts of the king's dominions. . . . God grant our counsels may not be divided but directed. It's a time of much deficiency and distress in the world notwithstanding the many favors." After his death a eulogy most laudatory and in Ciceronian Latin was delivered in the hall of Yale College. The address was made by Dr. Stiles, afterwards a distinguished president of Yale College, and among other sentiments expressed, referring to his great usefulness and distinguished services, he says, "especially with our Society, the nurse of noblest arts, for whose lasting prosperity

"The unhappy circumstances of our college, which for want of support by due order and regulation has disrectified before your return, lest it suffer a total dissoluwhich men of the most corrupt principles may enter and feared the Popish faction have their emissaries among us dominions . . . God grant our counsels may not be diaddress was made by Dr. Stiles, afterwards a distinguished president of Yale College, and among other sontiments guished services, he says, "especially with our Society, he most earnestly labored. Under his auspices was bestowed from our State authorities, to whom be thanks. an honorary charter of most ample principles and privileges." Such, in brief, was the man—a life full of activity and unswerving energy and an example and inspiration to his descendants, in a way followed in the fact that his son was a member of the Continental Congress, and his grandson and greatgrandson were successively in Congress. Thus three generations up to that timeonly paralleled by the Adamses. His remains were buried in the old churchyard at Milford. His tombstone is a flat stone table on four posts, which can now be seen under a large tree in the burying-ground. A memorial bridge is also erected at Milford, in which the governor's doorstep, a flat stone with a circular edge, is incorporated in the balustrade near the east tower.

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## Samuel Carpenter,

DEPUTY GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1694-98.

By Henry Morris, M.D. Read December 4, 1911.

The religious principles of the early Friends or Quakers caused them to refuse to render military service, to pay tithes for the support of the National Church or to listen to the preaching of its ministers.

While they inculcated the doctrine of non-resistance, they at the same time stoutly maintained that in matters of religion every man should be guided by the dictates of his conscience and worship God after his own fashion.

The promulgation of these and other doctrines peculiar to the sect drew down upon them the indignation of the dignitaries of the English Church, the scoffs and revilings of the populace and the relentless persecution of the Government officials.

The bloodhounds of the law were unloosed. They were fined, pilloried, imprisoned and subjected to all manner of indignities. But the spark lighted by the preaching of George Fox continued to spread in despite of the obstacles it encountered, until not a few of noble parentage became enrolled among his followers. These persecutions, however, caused many to leave their native country and seek an asylum in foreign countries or distant colonies. Many emigrated to the islands of Jamaica and the Barbadoes, although even there followed by fines and penalties for their strict adherence to their religious principles.

Among these appear to have been Samuel Carpenter. Until lately nothing was known of where he came from in England, as none of the papers in possession of the family gave any information on the subject, and no traditions had been handed down from generation to generation to throw any light upon the matter.

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Finally, however, in the course of some investigations in England made by Mr. Thomas Allen Glenn, in 1900, the record of Samuel Carpenter's birth and baptism was discovered in the register of St. Mary's Parish Church at Horsham, Sussex County, England. Here was also found the records of the christening of his brothers and sisters, and the fact that they were all children of John Carpenter of Horsham.

He appears to have married three times:

First, January 15, 1631, Mary Somervale; second, Sarah—, who was buried September 28, 1650; third, Elizabeth—.

Mary Somervale must have died in 1640, but no surnames are given to Sarah or Elizabeth. The following are the dates of the christening of the children of John Carpenter:

1638, August 26, John, son of John Carpenter by Mary. 1642, June 12, Samuel, son of John Carpenter by Sarah. (Died young.)

1643, October 29, Robert, son of John Carpenter by

Sarah. (Died young.)

1644, November 14, Sarah and Mary (twins), daughters of John Carpenter.

1646, November 25, Damans, daughter of John Car-

penter by Sarah.

1649, December 20, Samuel, son of John Carpenter, born November 4.

1652, November 18, Abraham, son of John Carpenter, by Elizabeth.

1655, January 3, Debora, daughter of John Carpenter. The following members of the family appear under the head of Burials:

1644, July 9, Robert, the son of John Carpenter.

1644, September 3, Samuel Carpenter, a child. The second child named Samuel was the ancestor of the Carpenter family in Philadelphia.

1650, September 28, Sarah, the wife of John Carpenter.

1671, August 9, John Carpenter, Senior.

1682, March 5, John Carpenter, Junior, householder.

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The pages of the register between 1631, the date of John Carpenter's first marriage, and 1638, the birth of his son, John, are defective, through the action of time and other causes, and many entries cannot be read. The name of Joshua, the only brother of Samuel Carpenter, missing, is supposed to have been recorded between 1631 and 1638.

By this register the Carpenters appear to have been located in Horsham about three generations before the birth of Samuel Carpenter, commencing with Thomas Carpenter, who came there as a bachelor in 1559, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and who in 1565, May 20, married Ales Fiste, a widow, and died on November 17, 1581.

They have not been traced to any manor or large landed property in the vicinity, and it is supposed that the first who located at Horsham must have come from some older line, probably not far distant. Some searches are being made to determine this point. The only remark in the register is that John Carpenter, second, is noted as "householder."

Samuel Carpenter was twenty-one years old when his father died in 1671. About this time he must have been converted to the doctrines of George Fox, as quite a number of Ouakers were then at Horsham and a persecution of fines and imprisonment had commenced against them at an earlier period. Samuel appears to have been the only member of his family who adopted the views of the Friends, as his two brothers who joined him afterwards in Philadelphia both belonged to the Church of England. He must have left Horsham in a year or so, taking with him his share of the patrimony, and crossed the Atlantic to the Barbadoes. In a work published in London, A. D. 1753, entitled A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers for the Testimony of a Good Conscience, by Joseph Besse, it is stated that "in 1673 Samuel Carpenter was fined 1100 lbs. of Sugar in the Barbadoes for not sending Men with Arms. In 1683 he was again fined with Henry Wheatly 6673 lbs. Sugar for not sending Men with Arms."

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The Charter of Pennsylvania had been granted to William Penn on 5th of January, 1681, in satisfaction of a debt due from the Crown for his father's services, Admiral Sir John Penn. The grant was for upwards of 40,000 square miles of territory in North America, a princely estate if the value could have been measured by the standard of the present day.

With great liberality Penn invited not only those of his own sect but others of different creeds to come and occupy the land, with freedom to each one to worship

God according to his own faith.

No wonder that the Quakers, pining in exile or smarting with persecution, should have hastened to take refuge in Penn's colony on the banks of the Delaware, notwithstanding its broad acres of mountains and plains were still an unbroken wilderness, save only where a few Swedes and Dutch had settled along the shores of that river.

The first ship, "The John and Sarah," with emigrants arrived in the Delaware in the autumn of 1681. The City of Philadelphia was located in the latter part of 1682. Penn arrived at New Castle on 29th of October, 1682, and during the same year no less than twenty-three ships loaded with emigrants and supplies arrived in the Delaware.

Samuel Carpenter promptly availed himself of the opportunity which the invitation of Penn offered to leave the Island of Barbadoes, where he had been a resident for about eleven years. Having closed his business, he bid farewell to its inhospitable shores, and sailed for Philadelphia, where he arrived about July 10, 1683.

In the record of Race Street Friends' Meeting of Philadelphia is preserved a certificate from the Friends' Monthly Meeting at Bridgeton in the Island of Barbadoes, 23rd, 6 mo., 1683, to the good standing of Samuel Carpenter, and also in the same book is recorded a certificate was received and accepted from the Haverford West Meeting in Wales, 2nd of 6 mo.,

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1683, concerning Hannah Hardiman. They were married in Philadelphia, December 12, 1684. He was thirty five years old. The bride was born in 1646 and was thirty-eight. The original certificate, written on parchment and signed by many witnesses, is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and is said to be the earliest marriage certificate now known to be in existence in Pennsylvania.

Hannah Hardiman, who married Samuel Carpenter, became a prominent and influential member of the religious Society of Friends, or Quakers, and possessed considerable intellectual ability. Some of her writings are still preserved—chiefly upon the proper education of the young. She survived her husband about fourteen years. Of her family but little is known. Her mother Jane Hardiman, was a widow when she (Hannah) emigrated from Haverford West to locate in Philadelphia. One brother, Abraham Hardiman, followed his sister to Philadelphia. He married, and of his children: (1) Mary married George Fitzwater, son of Thomas Fitzwater who married Elizabeth Palmer; (2) Hannah married Gilbert Falconer, son of David Falconer, of Edinburg, Scotland; (3) Rebecca. He married, secondly, Rebecca Willsfirth, of New Jersey, by whom he had Deborah, who married George Claypoole. The will of Abraham Hardiman is dated August 28, 1699.

Possessed of considerable means, Samuel Carpenter lost no time on his arrival in Philadelphia in securing for himself the desirable location which he afterwards occupied as his residence and for business purposes. Holmes' portraiture of Philadelphia, done in 1683-4, as a kind of city chart, shows the location chosen for building lots at that time. It shows about twenty small cottages on the river bank. All lots owned on Front Street are marked as running through to Second Street. About six or eight of such lots filled up a square. The holders of these were all owners of 1000 acres, or more, in the country, and secured their city lots as appurte-

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Samuel Carpenter's lot extends from King Street (now Water Street) to Front Street, and thence to Second Street, No. 16 (on the Second Street front of this lot he subsequently built the historic "Slate Roof House"). The lot extends to Ton Alley, 270 feet front on King (Water) Street. On the east side of this lot, Delaware front, he built the wharf, or "fair key," mentioned in a letter of William Penn, describing the condition of the city "to which a ship of 500 tons may lay her broad side," probably the first wharf built in Philadelphia. It was known as "Carpenter's Wharf." In addition, ten warehouses were built adjoining. The residence of Samuel Carpenter was a brick mansion on King (Water) Street, not far from the wharf. Another building, for an ordinary or tayern, was constructed on the same property. In 1828 the wharf was in the possession of the heirs of Thomas P. Cope. The warehouses were still standing, and used for the storage of merchandise. In 1828 they belonged to Samuel Wharton, a descendant of Samuel Carpenter. Deborah Logan informed John Redman Carpenter about 1830 that she had some recollection of the appearance of the old mansion, which was taken down many years since. She described it as a large brick edifice of an antiquated and peculiar style, having the gable end fronting on Water Street, with a portico and high steps.

Samuel Carpenter was held in high estimation by his contemporaries at an early period, as is shown by the respect paid to his judgment and opinions. At a meeting held by the Council in Philadelphia "ye 28 of ye 1st mo., 1684," Samuel Carpenter's judgment was asked

for towards raising a tax on liquors.

At a meeting of the Council, "22nd of 3rd mo., 1684," resolved "that Samuel Carpenter be sent for to give his advice about furming the excise." On "30th of 3rd mo., 1684," Samuel Carpenter with eight others attended the Council to advise concerning the collection of the revenue. At a Council held in Philadelphia "ye 22 of 8th mo., 1684," ordered that James Claypoole, Samuel Carpenter

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and William Frampton be commissioned to dispose of the French ship "Hope," condemned as a French bottom unauthorized to trade with the Colony.

At a meeting of the Council held in Philadelphia on "9th of 7th mo., 1687," Samuel Carpenter was returned by the Sheriff of the County of Philadelphia to serve on the Provincial Council in the place of James Claypoole, for the remainder of the time he was to serve. This day he signed the attest and took his seat at the Board.

A Friends' school was established in Philadelphia in 1685, which, upon a petition from Samuel Carpenter and others was duly incorporated. The charter was granted by William Penn with extensive privileges, and names Samuel Carpenter one of fifteen trustees to whom the care of its management was intrusted. It was situated on the east side of Fourth Street, below Chestnut. In 1688 William Penn, having received a letter from Thomas Lloyd requesting to be released from public affairs, wrote to his Commissioners of State (of whom Thomas Lloyd was President), accepting the temporary resignation of Lloyd, and states "and do nominate to be commissioned in my name under the great seal Samuel Carpenter, who I hope will accept and industriously serve in that station." Samuel Carpenter accepted the appointment, and the record of numerous deeds and patents bearing his signature as one of the three Commissioners representing the Proprietor in his absence, may be found in the books of the office for recording deeds in the City and County of Philadelphia.

From the time of his arrival in Philadelphia, Samuel Carpenter was actively engaged not only in the multifarious transactions of his private business, but in the improvement of the town and in the affairs of government. The following list will show the principal offices held by him (from *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d Series, Vol. IX):

Governors Council, September 9, 1686–89–1695–1697–1713.

Provincial Treasurer (first treasurer), June 4, 1704 to 10, 1711-1713.

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unauthorized to trade with the Colony.

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A Briends' school was established in Philadelphia in 1685, which, upon a petition from Sannel Carpenter and others was duly incorporated. The charter was granted by William Penn with extensive privileges, and names Samuel Carpenter one of fifteen trustees to whom the care of its management was intrusted. It was situated on the east side of Pourth Street, below Chastnut. In 1685 William Penn, having received a letter from Thomas Lloyd requesting to be released from public affairs, wrote to his Commissioners of State (of whom Thomas Lloyd was President), accepting the temporary resignation of Lloyd, and states 'and do nominate to be commissioned in my name under the great seal Sanuel Carpenter, who I hope will accept and industriously serve pointment, and the record of numerous deads and patents in that station." Samuel Carpenter accepted the appointment, and the record of numerous deads and patents frepresenting the Proprietor in his absence, may be found in the books of the office for recording deeds in the City and County of Philadelphia.

From the time of his arrival in Philadelphia, Samuel Carpenter was actively engaged not only in the multifarious transactions of his private business, but in the improvement of the town and in the affairs of government. The following list will show the principal offices held by him (from Pennsylvania Archives, 2d Series, Vol. 18):

Governors Council, September 9, 1686-89-1695-1697-

1713

Provincial Treasurer (first treasurer), June 4, 1704 to

Deputy for Proprietor (William Penn), November 24, 1694, September 3, 1698.

Member of Assembly, 1693-1694-1696.

Member of Assembly (Bucks County), 1705.

Among others, the name of Samuel Carpenter occurs

frequently in Bond's History of Pennsylvania.

Samuel Carpenter and four others, members of Council, write a letter to Penn exculpating Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor, from some blame (1, 358).

Samuel Carpenter and eight others write a letter to Penn, dated November 10, 1693, concerning affairs of

government (1, 382).

Samuel Carpenter, Samuel Preston and eight others sign a remonstrance to Governor Fletcher (1, 350).

William Penn writes to Samuel Carpenter and others concerning the restriction of the government of the Province in a letter dated 10th of 11th mo. 1693 (1, 401).

Samuel Carpenter with five others join in approving the charter of privileges from William Penn October 25, 1701.

Samuel Carpenter and four others appointed trustees of the mortgage—when the Province was mortgaged by William Penn.

In 1709 the Assembly consult Samuel Carpenter and other Quaker members of Council on the governor's requisition for aid in taking Newfoundland. The quota required was one hundred and fifty men and four thousand pounds. The Assembly on advice refused to answer the requisition, but offer a present of five hundred pounds to the Queen (II, 25).

Watson, in his Annals of Philadelphia, says:

"The name of Samuel Carpenter is connected with everything of a public nature in the early annals of Philadelphia. I have seen his name at every turn in searching the old records. He was the Stephen Girard of his day for wealth, and the William Sansom in the improvements he made and the edifices he built."

Deputy for Proprietor (William Penn), November 24, 1694, September 3, 1698.

Member of Assembly, 1603-1604-1606.

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The following items of real estate are known to have belonged to him:

r. A large estate in and adjacent to the town of Bristol (Bucks County), Pennsylvania, with saw and grist mills.

2. The "Slate-roof House," at the southeast corner of Second Street and Norris Alley.

3. Certain town lots on the north side of Market Street, Philadelphia, between Fifth and Sixth Streets.

4. He was joint proprietor with William Penn and Caleb Pusey of a grist mill at Chester, Pennsylvania.

5. A lot of ground extending from the Delaware River to Second Street and from Walnut Street to Norris Alley.

6. The Mansion House, on King Street, crane, bakery, ten warehouses, Globe Tavern and Long Wharf.

7. One-half of a mill at Darby, with a large pond.

8. Five thousand acres of land lying on Pequessing Creek, fifteen miles from Philadelphia.

9. The Sepviva Plantation, containing three hundred and eighty acres, part of Fair Hill, in the County of Philadelphia.

10. One thousand acres in Pilesgrove Township, Salem

County, New Jersey.

11. Fifty acres lying between the lands of William Cooper and of John Kaighn in the City of Camden.

12. Six hundred acres on Timber Creek, in New Jersey, constituting a part of the Howell estate of Fancy Hill.

13. Eleven hundred acres situated in Elamborough, Salem County, New Jersey.

14. Three-sixteenths of five thousand acres of land and a mine called Pickering's Mine.

15. A coffee house at the northeast corner of Front and Walnut Streets, and scales.

The large house built by Samuel Carpenter on Second Street and completed about 1698 was known as the "Slate-roof House" from the circumstance that the roof was covered by slate long before any other building in the City of Philadelphia had a similar covering. It was about forty-five feet front by fifty-five feet deep. It

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was a brick two-story building with large projecting eaves and a square turret at each of the front corners. It was originally furnished with diamond-shaped sash.

James Logan in one of his letters to Penn speaks of it as the *choicest* house for a governor in the Province of Pennsylvania, and strongly urges him to purchase it for that purpose. It was occupied by William Penn as his residence during the whole of his last visit to Philadelphia, excepting about one month during which he was a guest of Edward Shippen. In it his eldest son, John Penn, was born.

Samuel Carpenter sold this house to William Trent, the founder of Trenton, for eight hundred pounds, who in 1709 sold it to Isaac Norris for nine hundred pounds, and it remained in the hands of his descendants until 1867, when it was sold and pulled down to make way for the structure which now replaces it for the Chamber of Commerce. In 1764 and for some years subsequently the house was used as a boarding house by the mother of Alexander Grayden. It was occupied by officers of the Forty-second Regiment, and also by those of the Royal Irish. Baron de Kalb and other distinguished gentlemen had their lodgings here at different times. General Forbes died here.

Owing to a war which occurred in 1703 and the depredations of pirates, trade was much interfered with and heavy losses incurred. Samuel Carpenter was much affected by this condition of affairs and became much embarrassed. In order to meet his obligations he was obliged to sell much of his property, and there is a long letter in existence from him to Jonathan Dickinson, of Jamaica, in which he describes his large property at Bristol, Pennsylvania, and tries to induce Dickinson to purchase it. These negotiations, however, failed, but Carpenter made sufficient sales to relieve his embarrassment, and finally left his family a considerable property.

Samuel Carpenter died at the house of his son-in-law, William Fishbourne, at Sepviva Plantation, in the

for the structure which now replaces it for the Chamber of Commerce. In 1754 and for some years subsequently gentlemen had their lodgings here at different times.

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County of Philadelphia, on the 11th of the 2nd month, 1714, greatly beloved and lamented.

In a letter to William Penn, dated 11th, 2nd month, 1714, James Logan says: "We have lost our dear friend Samuel Carpenter. He departed last night about eleven at his daughter Fishbourne's, where he lodged when taken ill, for he had no dwelling in town having removed last Fall to Bristol," "and further, of his honor, integrity and the high estimation in which he was held ever since his arrival in this country," he adds, "and how much it was due from all men sufficiently appears by the heavy melancholy that sits on the faces of all here who have a value for sincere honesty and public spirit, upon his lying a dead corpse and to be laid tomorrow in the grave. He was universally beloved and esteemed here as I always loved him and his generous disposition."

Proud says:

"Samuel Carpenter arrived early in Pennsylvania, and was one of the most considerable traders and settlers. He held for many years some of the greatest offices of the government, and through a great variety of business he preserved the love and esteem of a large number of acquaintances. His great ability, activity and benevolent disposition of mind in divers capacities, but more particularly among his friends, the Quakers, are said to have rendered him a very useful member, not only of that religious society, but of the community in general."

Joshua and Abraham Carpenter, brothers of Samuel Carpenter, followed him to Philadelphia, but there is no record of their having been at the Barbadoes. They both belonged to the Church of England.

Joshua Carpenter arrived about 1686. The first information concerning him appears in the record of a meeting of the Council held at Philadelphia, fifth day of fifth month, 1686: "A license was granted to Joshua Carpenter to keep an ordinary in the house erected for that purpose by his brother Samuel Carpenter on the

that purpose by his brother Samuel Carpenter on the

wharf." This was probably a temporary measure, as in deeds and his will afterwards he was called "a brewer."

He came here with money, for he built a large mansion on Chestnut Street, north side, between Sixth and Seventh Streets, where he resided. He became active as a citizen, filled some responsible offices, and was one of the Founders of Christ Church, Philadelphia. The ground the church stands on was deeded to him in trust for the purposes of Christ Church, and it so stands to this day, the original document being in the possession of the vestry.

His wife was named Elizabeth, the surname being unknown. Two children, Samuel and Sarah, survived them, and are mentioned in their wills. His son Samuel married twice and had issue. The daughter Sarah married (1) Enoch Story, and from this marriage is descended the Hockly and Walsh family of Philadelphia.

She married (2) Dr. Samuel Low.

Joshua died in 1722, buried July 24, 1722. His grave was in a fenced-off square of ground in the center of Washington Square. His wife was buried there later. Washington Square was used as a stranger's burial ground until 1815. There is a tradition that a daughter of Joshua Carpenter committed suicide, and could not be buried for this reason in Christ Church yard. She was interred in the strangers' ground and her family were buried there afterwards.

Abraham Carpenter (brother of Samuel) emigrated to Pennsylvania and became a merchant. He was married, but his wife died without children about third month, 1705. His will was proved August 2, 1722. In it he leaves legacies to his brothers and sisters and their families, if deceased, and the list corroborates the register of St. Mary's Church, Horsham, Sussex County, England.

Samuel Carpenter married Hannah Hardiman. Their children were <sup>1</sup>Hannah, <sup>2</sup>Samuel, <sup>3</sup>Joshua, <sup>4</sup>John, <sup>5</sup>Rebecca, <sup>6</sup>Abraham. Of these Hannah, Samuel and John married and left issue. The others died young.

<sup>1</sup>Hannah Carpenter (daughter of Samuel and Hannah Carpenter), born March 3, 1686, died 1742, married,

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'Hannah Carpenter (daughter of Sumuel and Hannah Carpenter); born March 3, 1086, died 1742, married,

January 8, 1701, William Fishbourne, a prominent merchant and member of the Society of Friends. He was born in Talbot County, Maryland, son of Ralph and Sarah (Lewis) Fishbourne; settled in Philadelphia before 1700; Mayor of Philadelphia 1719, 1720, 1721; Treasurer of the Province; and held other important positions. From this marriage are descended the Fishbournes, some of the Whartons, Emlens, Hutchinsons, Scotts, and other prominent families of Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup>Samuel Carpenter<sup>2</sup> (eldest son of Samuel and Hannah Hardiman) born February 9, 1688, died November, 1748, married Hannah Preston July 2, 1711, daughter of Samuel Preston and granddaughter of Governor Thomas Lloyd. She was born 1693, died March 6, 1772. Samuel Preston was the grandson of Richard Preston, who came to Virginia in 1635, and son of Richard Preston,<sup>2</sup> who removed with his father to Maryland, where he died.

After the death of the elder Richard Preston, Samuel came to Philadelphia, where he married the daughter of Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, and a distinguished member of the Colony. The Lloyds are descended from an ancient family of Wales, tracing their descent in an authentic lineage from Welsh princes of the sixth century, and from their alliances with the English nobility to an equally authentic descent from King Edward I.

Their children were <sup>1</sup>Samuel, <sup>3</sup> <sup>2</sup>Rachel, <sup>3</sup>Preston, <sup>4</sup>Hannah, <sup>5</sup>Thomas, of whom Samuel <sup>3</sup> Preston and Hannah married and left descendants.

<sup>1</sup>Samuel Carpenter<sup>3</sup> became a merchant, went to Jamaica, where he married, and left descendants in the island at the present day.

Preston Carpenter went to Salem, N. J., at an early age, married, and had twelve children, from whom are sprung families in New Jersey and Philadelphia.

Hannah Carpenter married Samuel Shoemaker, and had eleven children, of whom only one, Benjamin Shoemaker, married and had children. Of these, one, Anna Shoemaker, married Robert Morris, the son of the Treas-

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age, married, and had twelve children, from whom are

maker, married and had children. Of these, one, Anna Shoemaker, married Robert Morris, the son of the Treasurer of the Revolution, from whom are descended the

Morris family of that line in Philadelphia.

John Carpenter (son of Samuel Carpenter and Hannah) born May 5, 1690, and died in 1724. He married 11th of 11th mo., 1710, Anna Hoskins, daughter of Dr. Richard and Esther Hoskins, died January 20, 1719.

They had two daughters, Hannah and Martha.

<sup>1</sup>Hannah Carpenter (daughter of John Carpenter and Anna), born November 23, 1711, died July 14, 1751, married Joseph Wharton March 5, 1729-30. Joseph Wharton was a successful merchant of Philadelphia, and built the country house called "the Walnut Grove," on the Delaware River below the city and the scene of the Meschianza during the Revolution. From their marriage are descended many of the Wharton family in Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup>Martha Carpenter (daughter of John and Anna Carpenter), born —, died 26th of 8th mo., 1760, married 23d of 3d mo., 1738, Reese Meredith, son of Reese Meredith, of Radnorshire, Wales, died November 17, 1778, and had issue. From this marriage are descended Samuel Meredith, first Treasurer of the United States, the Clymers, Dickinsons of New Jersey, and other well

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(Brigadier General Lewis A. Carpenter, of Philadelphia, is authority for most of the information contained in the foregoing article. The genealogy of the Carpenter family recently written by him is a most interesting work.)

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# Major General Edward Lloyd,

GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND, 1709-14.

By George McCall. Read February 5, 1912.

Historians of Colonial Maryland have been brief in their narrative of the lives of her governors of that period. What has been said has been necessarily confined to important administrative details to the exclusion of family life, anecdotes or social intercourse. Edward Lloyd has been no exception in this respect. Indeed, in his case, the references are especially meagre. But by a more extended research than mere historical reference affords I am able to present, I think, a more complete and interesting record of this member of a family, which from early times to the present day has always been prominent in the affairs of both Province and State.

Scharf's History of Maryland, Vol. 1, page 377, con-

tains the following entry:

"On July 20th, 1709, Governor Seymour died and the government of the province devolved upon the President of the Council, Major General Edward Lloyd, by whom it was administered until the arrival of Governor Hart in 1714."

Governor Lloyd was the eldest son of Philemon and Henrietta Maria Neale Bennett and was one of a family of ten children. He married, February 1, 1703, Sarah Covington, who is referred to as "a beautiful Quakeress." She was the daughter of Nehemiah Covington by his wife, Rebecca Denwood, of Somerset County, Maryland.

Governor Lloyd resided at "Wye House," Talbot County, Maryland, which was built by his first progenitor in Maryland and grandfather, Edward Lloyd, who came from Virginia in 1649, and of whom mention

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Governor Lloyd resided at "Wye House," Talbot County, Maryland, which was built by his first progenitor in Maryland and grandfather, Edward Lloyd, who came from Virginia in 1549, and of whom mention will be made hereafter.

There were six children, viz.: Edward; Philemon; Edward, 2d; Rebecca C., who married William Anderson, a London merchant; James; Richard, who married the charming Joanna Leigh of the Isle of Wight, and had Anna Maria, who married Jeremiah Nichols, and Major James Lloyd, who married Elizabeth Tilghman. His son, Edward Lloyd, 2d, member of the Maryland Legislature of 1739, married, 26th March, 1739, Ann Rousby, of Patuxent, and had four children: Elizabeth, born 10th January, 1742, who married General John Cadwalader of the Revolutionary Army, and had a daughter Maria Cadwalader who married General Samuel Ringold.

Governor Lloyd's grandson, Edward Lloyd, born 15th December, 1744, married, 19th November, 1767, Elizabeth Tayloe, and became Governor of the State of Mary-

land in 1809.

Governor Lloyd died March 20, 1718. His widow married 3d May, 1721, Colonel James Hollyday, of "Wye House" until 1731 and afterwards of "Readbourne" on the Chester River, Queen Anne County, Maryland. She is referred to as "a remarkably beautiful woman." On the death of her second husband, October 8, 1747, she continued to reside at "Readbourne" until 1754, when she went to visit her daughter Rebecca (Lloyd) Anderson in London. She died there, 5th April, 1755, aged seventy-one years. Hanson, in referring to a letter which recorded her death "as stained with tears," says, "her character through life justified such expression." Her tombstone is at Westham Churchyard, County Essex, England.\*

Before taking up the administration of Governor Lloyd it may be well to refer to his grandfather Edward Lloyd, who, as already stated, came from Virginia in 1649. We are told that he was born on the banks of the Wye River

<sup>\*</sup> For the above genealogical references, see Old Kent and the Eastern Shore of Maryland, by Geo. H. Hanson; Colonial Families of the United States, by Geo. N. MacKenzie; Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties, Maryland, by J. D. Warfield; The Lloyds of Wye House, by Rebecca Lloyd Post Shippen, published in Maryland Original Research Society, Bulletin No. 1.

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in Wales about 1600 and emigrated to Virginia in 1623, and, as the records show, was a Burgess in the Virginia Assembly until 1649 when with a body of Puritans, because of their non-conformity, he was compelled to quit Virginia. He settled near Providence, which later became Annapolis. He was a man of such conspicuous ability and so desirable that he soon by various grants became quite an extensive land owner. He owned the celebrated tract "Hyer-Dyer-Lloyd," containing 3050 acres in Talbot County, under patent from Cecilius, Lord Baltimore. Shippen West tells us that he was descended from Elystan Glodrydd, King of a district in Wales between the "Wye" and "Severn" rivers, in the ninth century, as proved by the coat-of-arms borne by the family from their earliest settlement, being gules, a lion rampant regardant or. After this ancient Welsh king the later Sir Evans Lloyd bore the same arms.

Before his return to England in 1668 he was commissioned by the Governor to several high offices. He died in England, his will being dated March 11, 1695, and proved July 16, 1696, which is on record at Somerset House and Annapolis. In this will he bequeathed to his grandson, afterwards Governor Lloyd, "all that my plantation with the appurtenances lying and being in Wye River, Maryland." He outlived his only son Philemon, father of Governor Lloyd, who was born in 1647 and who died June 22, 1685. Philemon was a son by his first wife, Alice Crouch, and like most children of these wealthy planters, was educated in England. He had an equally brilliant service in the Province.

Before 1709, when Lloyd became acting governor, we find him commissioned by Sir Francis Nicholson, Governor of the Province, as Justice of the Peace and made one of the Quorum, January 16, 1697. By order of the King in Council, dated May 8, 1701, he was constituted a member of the Council (Cat. St. Pap. Col., 1701, 421), being sworn into that body the following November. As such he was qualified to act as County Justice and preside in any court whenever present. He was also

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chosen to represent the Freemen of Talbot County at the election of new delegates to the General Assembly held January 11, 1698.

At this time Maryland was a crown colony. The government consisted of the governor, his council and an assembly composed of the freemen of the Province.

There was an upper house and a lower house.

The most important measures that passed Edward Lloyd's term of service in the lower house was the establishment of the Church of England as the Church of the Province. On March 16, 1702, Lloyd was called to a seat in the Council by Governor Blakiston. The government devolved upon him during this governor's absence in England, on account of ill health, and remained in his hands until the arrival of Seymour in 1704. He was raised to the rank of Major General of Maryland Militia in 1708.

As we have seen, Lloyd became *de facto* governor upon the death of Seymour in 1709 and we find him, for the first time in that capacity, presiding at a meeting of the Council held at the Council Chamber in the city of Annapolis, Tuesday, October 25, 1709. (*Maryland* 

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At this sitting Colonel Francis Jenkins complained that as the eldest member, he ought to preside and was told by the members, in effect, that, as he had not paid any attention to the government after Seymour's death, Lloyd had been advised by them to execute the duties of President. At this time Governor Lloyd addressed the attending Speaker and House of Delegates as follows:

"Upon the decease of his Excellency Colonel John Seymour, our late Governor, the administration of the Government by her Majesty's royal commission to him is vested in us as Members of her Majesty's Council and we having taken the same upon us thought it expedient to convene you at this time to advise with and recommend to you the necessary and usual means for raising a supply to defray the public charges of this present year, etc. etc."

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It appears that Lloyd, although acting with the Council in the administration of the government, was a body apart and had full power of commander-in-chief, acted as such and had a negative voice in the passing of laws. He drew two salaries, one as temporary governor and one as councillor. (Maryland Archives, Vol. xxx, page 561.)

Governor Lloyd's administration seems to have been chiefly noticeable in connection with the passage of wise

laws. McMahon (page 282) pays this tribute:

"It is as conspicuous in our statute book, even at this day, as the blessed parliament in that of England. A body of permanent laws was adopted which for their comprehensiveness and arrangement are almost entitled to the name of a code. They formed the substratum of the statute law of the Province even down to the Revolution."

Secretary Calvert in his correspondence with Governor Lloyd touched upon bills of exchange, abuse of the lord-ships' manors, rent rolls, town lands, arrearages of rent, the Ohio territory and French encroachments. (Scharf's

History of Maryland, Vol. 1, page 380.)

Lloyd appears to have been cautious in the exercise of his power and during his incumbency there was less than the usual amount of bickering between the two houses. (See Preface to Maryland Archives.) One writer says (Steiner's Restoration of Proprietary Maryland, Vol. I, Am. Hist. Assn.): "It is seldom that a locum tenens retained power for four years, as Lloyd did, but probably the last effort of the aged proprietary to regain control of his province caused the delay."

This sketch would hardly be complete without a description of "Wye House" and its interesting burying-ground. Rufus Rockwell Wilson in his "Colonial By-

ways," 1901, says, page 28:

"From either Easton or St. Michaels it is an easy and inviting detour to Wye House and Wye Island, two-storied shrines of the Eastern Shore. Called It appears that Lloyd, although acting with the Council in the administration of the government, was a body apart and had full power of commander in chief, acted as such and had a negative voice in the passing of laws. He drew two salaries, one as temporary governor and one as councillor. (Maryland Archives, Vol. xxx., page 501.)

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after the little river which rises in the Cambrian Hills, and mingling its waters with those of the Severn, flows out through Bristol Channel to the Atlantic, there are few American waterways more lovely than the Wye. Its banks are free from the sombre borders of marsh which fringes most of its sister streams, and its channel from head to mouth sweeps between bold bluffs of woodland and smiling fields, dotted by the manor houses of men and women whose ancestors dispensed stately hospitality in these same homes more than a century ago. And nowhere in those days of pleasantness and peace had the stranger more generous welcome than was sure to be given him by the master of Wye House. This sturdy domicile, built of bricks brought over from England, was burned in 1781, when a British marauding party looted the plantation and the mansion; but near its site stands another spacious structure which invites the present day wayfarer in the name of all the generations of gentle kind of folk who have dwelt there since Edward Lloyd, in 1668 set up his son Philemon Lloyd to be Lord of the Manor of Wve and master of the Wve House. The main building of two lofty stories is connected by corridors with one-storied wings, presenting a facade of two hundred feet looking out upon a noble treestrewn lawn, and over engirdling woods to Wye River and the island beyond. Behind the mansion is a flower garden, and in the rear of that the family burying ground where is gathered the dust of many worthies and dames of the blood of the Lloyds."

Helen Ridgely, in "Historic Graves of Maryland," page 212, et seq., has given us a most excellent description of this burying-ground. She says, on page 212:

"On account of its age and of the prominent people buried there and also because of the beauty of its tombs, and their quaint inscriptions, the old burying-ground at Wye, the home of the Lloyds Atlantic, there are few American waterways more sweeps between bold bluffs of woodland and smiling two hundred feet looking out upon a noble tree-

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## Another interesting reference is the following:

"The stone of Colonel Edward Lloyd has been broken in eight places. It has been restored, three bits being lost. The inscription reads: 'Here lieth ye Body of the Honorable Collnl Edward Lloyd, Eldest son of Colnl Philemon Lloyd and Henrietta Maria, his wife, who was born ye 7 Feby. 1670 and died March ye 20, 1718. He had by his wife Sarah 5 Sons and one Daughter, all living except one Son. He served his country in severall Honorable Stations, both Civil and Military, and was of Ye Council many years.'"

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#### Thomas Lloyd,

Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, 1684-88, 1690-93.

By George Quintard Horwitz.

Read June 3, 1912.

The history of the Lloyd family, either through the original Governor, or through his immediate descendants or through its many ramifications, is closely allied and very often constitutes the early history of the Province of Pennsylvania.

The original settler was Thomas Lloyd, who, at the age of about forty-three sailed from London to Pennsylvania. He was of the Lloyds of Dolobran, his father being Charles Lloyd who claimed kin to the old Welsh families, the spelling of whose names would be a task and the pronunciation an impossibility. Thomas Lloyd was a graduate of Oxford University but early eschewed the rather worldly teachings of this ancient seat of learning and ardently espoused the cause of George Fox and, at that time, of the rather strange and fanatical sect known as Quakers.

The persecution of Lloyd, his friends and followers, will not be adverted to here further than to say that it was because of this that he finally left England to seek religious liberty in the colony which Penn had founded. This article will deal not so much with the history, life and times of the Governor himself, as with more especially that branch of his family through whom the writer is entitled to membership in this Society.

Thomas Lloyd arrived in Pennsylvania on August 20, 1683. At that time William Penn was in the Province and under a law which had been enacted at Chester in December, 1682, he appointed Lloyd Master of the Rolls. The principal duty attached to this office was to see that all conveyances for land for terms longer than

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one year and all bills and bonds for over five pounds should be registered in a public enrollment office. This very wise regulation was never carried out and at the end of five years it was discovered that none of the laws and but few of the deeds since Lloyd's appointment had been enrolled. This necessitated the adoption of a law by the Assembly validating all previous instruments.

In August, 1684, William Penn left the Province to return to England, having commissioned the Provincial Council to act in his stead, with Thomas Lloyd as the President. It cannot be said that Lloyd accomplished anything of any great value to the Colony or for Penn's interests. As the leader of the Quaker element, he did succeed in giving a great deal of trouble to his friends and neighbors and there was continual and bitter controversy between him and other distinguished men of that time, both of his own faith and those opposed to him. He died September 10, 1694, having been for nearly eight of the eleven years that he resided in Pennsylvania the highest officer in the Province.

By his first wife he had eleven children, of whom Mary was the fifth. She married Isaac Norris, one of the Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania, and it is through them that the writer claims descent from Thomas Lloyd.

It is intended merely to sketch some few interesting details and incidents in the lives of the Norris family, and show their influence upon the growth and development of the Province and State of Pennsylvania.

Isaac Norris was the founder of the family in Pennsylvania and originally came to the Province in 1690, having been sent from Jamaica, to which Island his family had moved from England, in order to inspect the Colony, preparatory to his family settling there. When he returned to Jamaica he found that his father had perished in the earthquake and he determined to take up his residence in Philadelphia, where he arrived in 1693, possessed of no greater wealth than about £100. He entered into business at once and at the time of his death

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had become one of the Colonies' wealthiest merchants and greatest landowners. From a letter, by him, written from London, to William Penn in 1707, it is interesting to note what the trade of Pennsylvania amounted to at that period. He wrote as follows:

"I presume that the Province consumes annually of the produce and merchandise of England to the value of £14,000 or £15,000 sterling, & this is imported directly from England & the other plantations chiefly Virginia, Maryland, Barbadoes, Jamaica, New England and New York. The direct returns are chiefly tobacco, furs and skins. 'Tis reasonable to presume that upon a peace or advance of those commodities in price, the direct return will increase considerably, of which there already appears some prospect, there being now in England four vessels, two at London, two at Whitehaven, which loaded at Philadelphia and brought at least seven or eight hundred hhds. of tobacco, besides twenty-five or thirty tons of skins and furs, and I have advice that there are four vessels more likely or intending to come this summer that may bring eight hundred or a thousand hhds, more."

At the time this letter was written Norris had been staying in England where he assisted William Penn in his troubles and finally procured his release from jail. He returned to Philadelphia in 1708 and was called to a seat in the Governor's Council the following year and from that time remained active in public life. In 1712 he was made Speaker of the Assembly. In 1704 he bought William Penn, Jr.'s Manor of "Williamstadt" on the Schuylkill, comprising over seven thousand acres, for which there was paid only about £900. This Manor was in due time called Norriton and included the site of the present borough of Norristown. Subsequently he bought a large amount of land, which included a large section of the Northeastern part of Philadelphia sometime known as Northern Liberties and now as Kensington,

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and in its domain were the two great estates of "Fairhill" and "Sepviva," which were the fruitful subject of litigation in the Pennsylvania courts from 1860 to 1910. Fairhill Mansion which was built at what would be the junction of Sixth Street. Norris Street and Germantown Avenue, was the country home of the Norris family and that early genius of the Revolution, John Dickinson. It was in the grounds surrounding this Mansion that the first Willow Tree ever brought into Pennsylvania was planted. The family tradition is that Franklin noticed a twig sprouting in a basket which had been taken out of the hold of a ship coming from Europe and that he gave it to Deborah Norris, who afterward became the wife of Dr. George Logan, and that she carefully nourished it in the ground at Fair Hill and thus it became the first willow tree in this State. "Fairhill" was subsequently burned by the British but was afterwards rebuilt by the family. Today upon its site are now erected immense mills and its once surrounding broad acres are entirely covered with the great plants that mark Philadelphia as the largest manufacturing city of the United States.

Isaac Norris also acquired the house in Philadelphia known as the "Slate Roof House," which stood on Second Street and which is the present site of the Commercial Exchange, where Penn lived with his family on his second visit; where Alexander Graydon spent his youth; where Sir William Draper, one of the objects of the fierce rhetoric of "Junius," lived for a time, where Baron von Steuben had rendezvous with his Continental friends, and where now, the only perpetuation of the glories of those days and of the family name, is a little street known as "Norris Alley."

Isaac Norris was appointed a Justice of Philadelphia County in 1717, and at the organization of the Court of Chancery was made a Master to sit with the Lieutenant-Governor in the hearing of cases. It is interesting to those of us who are lawyers to learn that he was offered the position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court,

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although a layman; which honor, however, he declined, preferring to remain in the County Court.

His son Isaac Norris was born in Philadelphia October 3, 1701, and was in mercantile business until 1743. Prior to his father's death he resided at the "Slate Roof House" and afterward at "Fairhill." He was elected to the Assembly and, four years after his father's death, became the leader of the Quaker party. He is described as more of a Quaker than either his father or James Logan and interest centers in him as a statesman who endeavored to keep the policy of the Commonwealth or Colony consistent with Quaker principles. Matters at that time were drawing rapidly to a head, as in 1730 war was breaking out with Spain and it was expected that France would ally itself with that great Power, and thus flanked the Colonies would have to bear a bitter struggle. The Governor addressed the Assembly and suggested that measures be taken for the defense of the Province. The House, however, sent a message on the subject of defense, contending for the right of the Quakers to obey their conscientious scruples against war but at the same time granting to persons of other sects who held no such views the liberty of conscience and the right to arms. The Assembly refused to vote any money for the defense of the Province. For the next two or three years there were various disputes between the Governor and the Quakers, particularly that branch of them known as the "Norris party," resulting in contests for office as bitter as those of modern times. At that time the word "graft" had not been coined and, if there was anything of that nature transpiring, it seems to have been kept well hidden.

In this connection it is amusing to note a little interchange in political courtesies, which, while it occurred in 1742, smacks somewhat of present day methods, although, possibly, we are not at this time quite so crude. It appears that a Mr. Allen entered into a contest with Mr. Norris for a seat in the House. At that time the German settlers, who had not been naturalized, had in-

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variably voted with the Quakers and it was openly charged that the "Norris Party" had been in possession of the polls, crowded out their opponents and elected their candidates with the aid of these illegal votes. Therefore, Mr. Allen conceived this plan: on Election Day he marched a party of sailors, strong enough to strike terror even to the German residents, to the polling place, where they applied their clubs lustily and wounded several, driving the peaceful, if more wily, Ouakers from the State House. Allen's excuse, at that time, sounds very much like other excuses heard today. He was heard to remark that "the sailors had as good a right to be there as the unnaturalized Dutchmen." Despite the absence of the "Yellow Journals," the violence seems to have brought a reaction in public feeling and Norris was again triumphantly elected.

At the session of the Assembly of 1741, Norris was at the head of nearly every Committee and performed lasting services in superintending the completion of portions of our State House, that building of historic interest which has made Philadelphia so well known to the world. He was also a leading spirit in devising plans for a Lazaretto. In 1751 he was elected Speaker of the Assembly, at which time he resided at "Fair Hill," although his city house was located upon the site of the present Custom House. The garden surrounding the latter house attracted the admiration of all of the citizens and was one of the "sights" of the City for very many years. As a study in the transit problems of a great City, a glance at the diary of Deborah Logan would help us to be more contented with our present lot. She tells us that in order for the Speaker to attend the session of the Assembly, which met on Monday mornings in Philadelphia at the State House, it was necessary for Mr. Norris to begin his drive from "Fair Hill" immediately after Meeting on Sunday morning so that he might rest on Sabbath evening in his town house, which "Sabbath Day's Journey" may now be made in less than thirty minutes.

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It was in 1751 that the Assembly ordered the State House bell from England. The drafting of the inscription to be placed upon it was entrusted to Mr. Norris, and the words, so prophetic in their purport, "Proclaim liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof" are, of course, well known to us. This bell was cracked by a stroke from the clapper and in 1752 was recast with the same inscription. It is the same "Liberty Bell" that rang out the glad tidings of our Independence and which was finally silenced in tolling for the funeral of Chief Justice Marshall.

One of the last of the Norris family to impress himself upon his time and to bring the name within modern ken, was Joseph Parker Norris, who for some time was President of the Bank of Pennsylvania, on Second Street, when that Institution was conspicuous as a stronghold in the financial system of the City and State. He died, however, in 1841, or sixteen years before the great crash under which it fell during the Presidency of Allibone. The echo of the family possessions in that section of the City of Philadelphia, where "Fair Hill" once stood, may now be heard in the names of "Norris Square" and "Franklin Square," both of which were donated by Isaac Norris, as well as in "Norris Street," which now traverses Kensington and which formerly passed through many miles of the broad acres of the Norris family.

The foregoing sketch of Thomas Lloyd and the rather gossipy outline of some of the events in the Norris family are taken very largely from that most interestingly written and carefully compiled work of Mr. Charles P. Keith Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania. This article was prepared for the purpose of being read at one of the meetings of the Council and the writer does not feel that it should be published without due recognition and appreciation being given to Mr. Keith; without the aid of whose valuable work the writer would have been unable to compile this sketch, even in its fragmentary condition.

It was in 1751 that the Assembly ordered the State House bell from England. The drafting of the inscription to be placed upon it was entrusted to Mr. Norris, and the words, so prophetic in their purport, "Proclaim liberty throughout the land, anto all the inhabitants thereof" are, of course, well known to us. This bell was cracked by a stroke from the elapper and in 1752 was recast with the same inscription. It is the same "Liberty Bell" that rang out the glad tidings of our Independence and which was finally silenced in tolling for the funeral of Chief justice Marshall.

one of the last of the Norms tamily to impress himself upon his time and to bring the name within modern ken, was Joseph Parker Norris, who for some time was President of the Bank of Pennsylvania, on Second Street, when that Institution was conspicuous as a stronghold in the financial system of the City and State. He died, however, in 1811, or sixteen years before the great crash under which it fell during the Presidency of Allibone. The echo of the family possessions in that section of the City of Philadelphia, where "Fair Hill" section of the City of Philadelphia, where "Fair Hill" Once stood, may now be heard in the names of "Norris Square" and "Franklin Square," both of which were donated by Isaac Norris, as well as in "Norris Street," passed through many miles of the broad acres of the Norris family.

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### Major General Alexander Spotswood,

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, 1710-23.

By Carter Berkeley Taylor.

Read October 7, 1912.

Alexander Spotswood was quite a picturesque figure in his time. He belonged to the Cocked Hat Aristocracy of that day, and there is a picture of him in powdered wig and Court dress.

The surname came from Spottiswoode in the parish of Gordon, County Berwick, Scotland.

Robert de Spottiswoode was born between 1247 and 1206, and was the governor's earliest known ancestor. John Spotswood, seventh in descent from him was Archbishop of St. Andrews and Lord High Chancellor of Scotland. He crowned and annointed King Charles the 1st, in 1633 at Holyrood House. He wrote Spotswood's Church History, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. His second son, Sir Robert Spotswood was Privy Councillor to James VI, Lord President of the College of Justice, and Secretary for Scotland. His son, Sir Alexander Spotswood, the Governor of Virginia, was born at Tangier in 1676. His mother was the widow of General Elliot. The Governor was bred to the army and rapidly advanced, until wounded in the breast at the Battle of Blenheim on August 13, 1704, at which time he was created a Major General in the British Army. He was in the habit of showing to his guests a four-pound cannon ball that struck his coat. He was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Virginia in 1710, under the Earl of Orkney, and continued as such until 1723.

Among his achievements may be mentioned that he brought over the right of habeas corpus theretofore denied to Virginians. He built the Octagonal Magazine and rebuilt the College at Williamsburg. He was

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an excellent judge. He reduced to submission the Indian Tribes; in 1718 repelling predatory parties of the six nations, "yet established for them a school, thereby blending humanity with vigor, teaching that while he would chasten their insolence and ambition, he commiserated their condition." He was the author of an Act for improving the staple of tobacco and for making tobacco notes the medium of circulation. He has been called the Tubal Cain of Virginia on account of his own industries and was undoubtedly the pioneer of iron manufacture in North America.

Being a master of the military art, he kept the militia of Virginia under admirable discipline. He built a fort called Christiana. In the Tuscarora War he lent his aid to North Carolina and concluded a satisfactory peace.

In 1714 he made the first discovery of a passage over the Blue Ridge Mountains. In this expedition he was attended by the sons of most of the aristocracy of Virginia (but of this you shall hear more later on). As a result of this expedition he urged upon the British Government the policy of establishing a chain of posts beyond the Alleghenies from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi to restrain the encroachments of the French.

During eleven years from 1707 to 1718, while other Colonies were burdened with taxation, Virginia steadily adhered to a system of strict economy and during that interval eighty-three pounds of tobacco per poll or less than eight pounds per year per person was the sum levied as taxes by special Acts.

The County of Spottsylvania was created in 1720, and named after Spotswood.

Here he founded the town of Germania for the Germans sent there by Queen Anne.

The Government of Virginia during his time consisted of the Governor, twelve Councillors and fifty-two Burgesses. There was a population of about 100,000 and 15,000 militia.

In 1715 Spotswood conceived the Assembly to be actuated only by faction and he dissolved them with

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harsh and contemptuous expressions, which offended the spirit of the Burgesses. He had constant difficulties with the Assembly until 1718, when they buried their discord. Campbell, the historian, however, says at length, owing to the intrigues and envious whispers of men far inferior to him in capacity and honesty, he was displaced (1722) and succeeded by Hugh Drysdale.

General Spotswood thus described his work in Virginia: "My first offence was that I, a military man and nothing else, arrived in the Colony most unexpectedly to take the place of a gentleman who was captured on his way hither by the French. He was expected to espouse the cause of the clique whom I have mortally offended by attending to the real interests of the whole Colony. Instead of being too much of a political partisan, I have not been enough so to please them. In the second place, I have established warehouses for the inspection of tobacco at convenient places throughout the land, and this touches the pockets of the planting interest. In the third place, I have established a large iron furnace and forge and this separates me still more from that interest. And fourthly and lastly, I have advocated the establishment of military posts from the frontiers to the head waters of the Mississippi, thus disuniting the grasping French from forming in our rear; and this, they say, all the men and tobacco in the colony could not accomplish. . . . If I only had some of Marlborough's brave boys here, how I would shame these poor, sordid, narrow-minded creatures. I would plant the British Lion on the most commanding position which it has ever yet occupied. Grand as the enterprise is, in a military point of view, it is far surpassed in importance by its civil and social relations. Accomplish my design, and resources are opened to the West which the most enthusiastic visionary cannot now foresee."

Chalmers, an English historian, thus speaks of Spotswood:

"Having reviewed the uninteresting conduct of the frivolous men who had ruled before him, the harsh and contemptuous expressions, which offended the spirit of the Burgesses. He had constant difficulties with the Assembly until 1718, when they benied their discord. Campbell, the historian, however, says at length, owing to the intrigues and envious whispers of men far inferior to him in expacity and honesty, he was displaced (1722) and succeeded by Hugh Drysdale

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historian will dwell with pleasure on the merits of Spotswood. There was a utility in his designs, a vigor in his conduct and an attachment to the true interests of the Kingdom and the Colony, which merit the greatest praise. Had he attended more to the courtly maxim of Charles II 'to quarrel with no man however great might be the provocation, since he knew not how soon he should be obliged to act with him' that able officer might be recommended as the model of a provincial Governor. The fabled heroes who had discovered the uses of the anvil and the axe: who introduced the labors of the plough with the arts of the fisher, have been immortalized as the greatest benefactors of mankind; even though Spotswood invaded the privileges and mortified the pride of the Virginians, they ought to have erected a statue to the memory of a ruler who gave them the manufacture of iron and showed them by his active example that it is diligence and attention which can alone make a people great."

The Rev. Hugh Jones, Chaplain of the General Assembly in his time who wrote two papers in 1724 (two years after Spotswood ceased to be Governor) on "The Present State of Virginia," says:

"The Country is altered wonderfully and far more advanced and improved in all respects of late years since the beginning of Col. Spotswood's Lieutenancy, than in the whole Century before his Government, which he may be esteemed to have discharged with a commendable just and prudent administration. The scales of Justice are now fixed there upon their true balance and the cause of trade is nearly confined to its right chamber.

"Arts, Sciences, Trades and useful Inventions are now planted there in some measure and with due cultivation may thrive wonderfully." . . .

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Perhaps the most important service rendered by Governor Spotswood was in finding the passage over the Blue Ridge Mountains. The extension of the Dominions of the Crown and the creation of a great Empire for his Country were very close to the soul of this man and in 1714 he enlisted the flower of the younger aristocracy in his undertaking. He himself presented the matter to the Assembly at its meeting in that year, and his speech is thus described by Anstruther in his book:

"The great day at length arrived—that day the events of which were to fulfil the highest hopes of the chivalrous and enterprising Governor of Virginia, or blast them forever. The burgesses at the previous session had refused to vote the necessary supplies, and should the present representatives be governed by the same feelings and opinions there was forever an end of the great tramontane expedition. At length the booming sound of a cannon announced that the governor had set out from the palace. Immediately the crowd breaks away to the right and left and soon a troop of cavalry passes through, and file to the right and left on each side of the avenue: next the body guard, and then the state-coach, with the Governor in full dress, attended by two of the Council. The members rose respectfully upon his entrance and were gracefully saluted by him in turn. He took the seat appropriated to him for a few moments, and profound silence obtained the while. The Governor rose slowly under some embarrassment. He related the history of the inception

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of the undertaking, and said that while carrying out the benevolent views with regard to the Indian Scholars in the Colony, he had obtained from them his first information of a glorious country. He gave a faithful and graphic detail of the then known geography of the continent; he declared that nearly every other colony had hitherto done more towards the advancement of the great interest of civilization than Virginia, and that it was peculiarly incumbent on her, the representative in America of the intelligence, the religion, and the liberty of her fatherland to prosecute what Smith and Raleigh had so nobly begun. . . Shall it be said in after times that the descendants of the noble Cavaliers and gentlemen who conquered and reclaimed this country, had become so degenerate as to suffer this great inheritance to pass from them? Oh, never let it be said. Gird on your armor, Virginians, and follow me at least to the mountain's brow. No military or scientific eye can rest for one moment upon the map of Virginia, without being struck with the fact that such an achievement is immediately within our grasp. Look at the noble rivers, forever pouring their rich tributes into the bosom of our loved Chesapeake? Shall it be said by our children that their fathers were afraid to seize upon the fountains of the streams which they already possess? Thus far the race has been equal or nearly so; now however. Virginia holds in her hands the pass, the key, to the gates of the mightiest empire ever conceived of by the most towering ambition. Is she to close this entrance of the world to the far West, to suppress the energies of our race, to stifle the great onward enterprises, upon the threshold of which we have barely entered? Rouse ye up, Virginians, and sleep no longer at the portals of the world. Beyond the mountains spreads out the most wonderful country ever dreamed of by the most daring imagination."

"I am ambitious of no laurels except those which grow upon the highest peaks of the great Appalachee. I would rather wear a sprig of that in my cocked hat, legitimately earned, than wear the honors of Marlborough himself."

It is needless to say that this speech met with success and that the necessary funds to conduct the expedition were raised by the Assembly.

Hugh Jones, in his Papers on The Present State of Virginia in 1724, says:

"The governor, attended by a sufficient guard of pioneers and gentlemen and a stock of provisions, with abundant fatigue passed these mountains and cut his Majesties name on a rock upon the highest peak, naming it Mount George, and in complaisance the Gentlemen from the governor's name called the mountain next in height Mount Alexander.

"For this expedition they were obliged to provide a great quantity of horseshoes (things seldom used in the lower parts of the country where there were few stones) upon which account the governor upon their return presented each of his companions with a golden horseshoe (some of which I have seen) studded with valuable stones resembling the heads of nails with this inscription on the one side: 'Sic juvat transcendere montes,' and on the other is written 'Tramontane Order.'"

See also Campbell's Virginia and Colonial Mansions of Virginia, by Robert Brooks, Sr.

William A. Anstruther writes, on page 77 of Knights of the Golden Horseshoe:

"In a letter written by Governor Spotswood to the Rev. Dr. Blair in 1714, he writes: 'My young men have behaved most gallantly. Young Lee will make a fine soldier, his daring bravery is among the least of his qualifications. He has rendered me most "I am ambitious of no laurels except those which grow upon the highest peaks of the great Appalachee. I would rather wear a sprig of that in my cocked hat, legitimately earned, than wear the honors of Marlborough himself."

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The expedition returned a very short time before Christmas, 1714, on which day the governor presented the members of the expedition with golden horseshoes. In the course of his speech he said:

"Your conduct, gentlemen, one and all, during the trying scenes through which we have passed met with my most hearty approbation. Such a commencement of your martial career is a sure guarantee that should your sovereign again require the aid of your arms no second call will be necessary to bring you forth from your happy and peaceful homes. Some of you, I learn, are about to embark for the shores of our fatherland. signia which I am about to present to you will be new to the chivalry of that time-honored country, but I trust not unrecognized. I am sure when you bear these to the presence of majesty itself, and when you inform our gracious sovereign what a new and glorious empire you have added to his dominion. he will recognize you as a part of the chivalry of the empire and of that glorious band of knights and gentlemen who surround his throne like a bulwark.

"I have only now to say further that I have been authorized by his majesty's council to invest each of the following named young gentlemen with one of these badges:

"Francis Lee, Ralph Wormley, Mann Page, John Randolph, Dudley Diggs, John Peyton, Thomas important services, so, indeed, have Moore, Carter and Hall, and even my protege Dandridge. I send you a list of others of the young gentry who distinguished themselves. I wish you to have a golden horseshoe made for each of them to wear upon the breast, with the motto on one side, 'Sic Juvat Transcendere Montes,' and on the other 'The Transcendere Montes,' and on the other 'The Transcendere'. Have them ready, if possible, by our return, which you may now expect in a few weeks.'"

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Bray, Theodoric Bland, William Beverly, Benjamin Harrison, Oliver Yelverton, Peyton Skipwith, Peter Berkeley, William Byrd, Charles Ludwell, John Fitzhugh, Thomas Fairfax, Bernard Moore, Nathaniel Dandrige, Kit Carter, Francis Brooke, John Washington, Hugh Taylor, Alexander Nott, Charles Mercer, Edward Saunders, William Moseley, Edmund Pendleton, George Hay, George Wythe, John Munroe.

"May you wear them, gentlemen, through long and happy lives, and when you descend honored and lamented to your graves may they descend as heirlooms to your children. When the wilderness which you have discovered and conquered shall blossom as the rose, as most assuredly it will, these badges may be sought after by the antiquarians of a future age as honored mementos of the first pioneers of their happy and favored country. Let them be religiously preserved then, I charge you. The simple words which form the inscription may some day reveal the history of a portion of our country and its honored founders, when the revolutions of empires and the passing away of the generations may have submerged every other record.

"Your own names, gentlemen, honored and distinguished as they now are by illustrious ancestry. may by the mutations and instability of human greatness, be yet rescued from oblivion by these simple memorials."

The members of the order then kneeled down and were invested in due form with the insignia of the "Knights of the Horseshoe."

I may add that among the claims I made to the Society of Colonial Wars was one arising out of the services of Bernard Moore as a Knight of the Golden Horse Shoe and it was allowed by the Pennsylvania Society.

The governor had two country places, one at Nottingham, near Fredericksburg, and the other called Temple

Farm, derived from a temple-like structure which the

governor erected as a family vault.

This last at a moderate distance from Yorktown (since so famous by the surrender of Cornwallis) upon Chesapeake Bay, was where he resided while governor, a plain-looking structure covering a considerable portion of ground embracing under one common roof a long range of buildings of various dimensions and sizes with cool-looking verandas, extending entirely around the lower story of the house. Besides this main building. there were others of various sizes and shapes, from the kitchen to the coach house, forming altogether quite an imposing looking establishment. One side of the dwelling commanded a fine prospect of Chesapeake Bay, while the other faced a garden, at that time a curiosity in the Colony. It extended beyond the reach of the eye landward until it was lost in a beautiful green lawn which fell off towards a little babbling brook which wound its way round the extended bluff upon which the mansion stood. This garden was laid out after the prim and rather pregmatical fashion of that day in the old country. The whole establishment was surrounded by a fence painted white, the entrance of which was through a high arched gate in the fashion of the times.

Farther along the shores of the bay stood a double row of small white cottages with a narrow street running between and one large building of two stories in the center surmounted with a small cupola and weathercock; this was the negro quarter. Beyond this, again, stood the overseer's house, still following the same line.

During the Revolution this plantation was known as the Moore House, and the articles of capitulation of Lord Cornwallis were drawn up and signed there.

No one will wonder at the extent even of this country establishment when we state from undoubted authority that his excellency's income at that time, was 20,000 pounds per annum independent of his salary.

Lady Spotswood, whose maiden name was Ann Butler, the goddaughter of the Duke of Ormond, notwithstanding

This last at a moderate distance from Yorktown

the stiff fashion of the female costume and headdress at that time, was the very beau ideal of a Governor's wife. She looked quite young in comparison with her husband, and possessed the remains of her beauty that must have been formidable among courtiers of the royal household, from which atmosphere the general had plucked her.

The motto of the family was, "Potior et Patior" (I am possessed of and I suffer). His grandson Alexander married the daughter of General William Augustus Washington, the niece and legatee of General George Washington. His eldest daughter, Ann Catherine, who married Bernard Moore, Sr., of Chelsea, was elegant in person and manners and of a high spirit. She was an adherent of the British Government, while her husband and children sympathized with the patriotic cause of the Revolution. She, as being the daughter of a British Governor, persisted in drinking her tea during the war, although a contraband article. There is a tradition of her having made her negroes toss an overseer, who had offended her, in a blanket while she stood at a window to witness the scene. Once while her husband was absent, being at Hanover Court House, upon a sudden alarm of Indians, she ordered up all hands, manned and provisioned a boat and made good her retreat to West Point. I have a Copley portrait of her granddaughter, who was my father's great grandmother. The Goveror's youngest daughter, Dorothea, married Nathaniel West Dandridge on June 18, 1747, and their daughter, Dorothea Dandridge, married Patrick Henry.

It will, therefore, be seen that the blood of the elegant and vigorous Spotswood flowed in the veins of some of our nation's heroes.

In 1730 Spotswood was made Post Master General for the Colonies. He it was who promoted Benjamin Franklin to the office of Post Master for the Province of Pennsylvania. He held that place until 1739, when hewas appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Colonial Troops in the expedition fitted out against Carthegenia. He died, however, when on the eve of embarking at Annapolis, June 7, 1740. the stiff fashion of the female costume and headdress at that time, was the very bean ideal of a Governor's wife. from which atmosphere the general had plucked her.

### Daniel Coxe, M.D.,

Governor of West Jersey, 1687-92.

By John Redman Coxe.

Read December 2, 1912.

There is a tradition that the Coxe family is descended from Earl Coxe, one of the principal nobility who swore fealty to William the Conqueror and was particularly noted for his bravery though murdered for his fidelity to the king, a circumstance which accounts for the family retaining its property and standing under that dynasty, although Saxon in descent, which is referred to in Hume's History of England, Vol. 1, chapter 4.

Our first ancestor, of whom we have authentic record, was William Coxe, gentleman, of Audrey Parish, West Quantohead, Somersetshire, England, A. D. 1550, who married a daughter of Thomas Wall, of Audrey, and had issue:

Daniel Coxe, 1st, who was living in Somersetshire in 1663. He received the coat of arms granted by Parliament in 1648. He had issue:

Daniel Coxe, 2nd, gentleman, of Stoke Newington, Middlesex. He died in 1686, leaving eight children, the eldest being

Daniel Coxe, 3rd. He was a physician, and is described as of London, England. He was born in 1640 and died in 1730, aged ninety years. He married Anne, daughter of John Coldham, of Tooting, County Surrey, who was Lord Mayor of London. Dr. Coxe was physician to Charles II and Queen Anne. He was elected member of the Royal Society in 1664 and admitted an Honorary Fellow in the Royal College of Physicians of London September 30, 1680, 1692, 1698. In 1680 to 1687 he purchased the patent of the Province of Carolina, which had originally been granted by Charles I to his Attorney-General, Sir Robert Heath, consisting of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Louisiana, in-

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Read December 2, 1912.

fealty to William the Conqueror and was particularly noted for his bravery though murdered for his fidelity to the king, a circumstance which accounts for the family

cluding that part of America which lies between 31 and 36 degrees of latitude, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. The Coxe title to Carolina continued to exist until 1769 and was pronounced by the Attorney-General of the Crown to be perfect. In that year Colonel Coxe's children and grandchildren surrendered the charter of Carolina to the British Government at the request of Queen Anne and received in compensation a grant of one hundred thousand acres of land in the colony of New York. The township of Carolana and other patents of land were located in New York under this grant. See G. I. Scull's Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, published by the Historical Society, Vol. VII, pages 317 to 357 inclusive. Before Dr. Coxe's purchase of the patent of Carolina, he was well known in connection with the colonies of East and West Iersey and in 1686 acquired interest in East Jersey. After the death of Governor Billings in January, 1687, he purchased of his family their landed property in West Jersey together with the right of government in the Province, under grant of the Duke of York to Billings, and, in consequence, became Governor of West Jersey. Dr. Coxe died in 1730, aged ninety years. He had twelve children, the eldest being

Colonel Daniel Coxe, 4th, who came to America in 1702 and resided at Burlington, New Jersey, and afterwards at Trenton, New Jersey. He married Sarah E. Eckley, of Roe Kimbolton Parish, Hereford County, England. She was a Quakeress and eloped with Colonel Coxe and was married on the Iersev side of the river by firelight by the chaplain of Lord Cornbury, Governor of New Jersey. (See Watson's Annals of Philadelphia.) He was a member of several societies, Judge of the Supreme Court, Speaker of the Assembly and Colonel of the West Division of the New Jersey militia. He was Provincial Grand Master of the Free Masons of the Middle Colonies, his appointment being in 1730, which made him the first mason, i. e., Grand Master of North

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Daniel Coxe, 5th, born in Trenton in 1704, married Abigail, daughter of Leonard Streate, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Judge of the Marshalsea Court. Daniel Coxe the 5th was named as one of the burgesses in the first charter of the Borough of Trenton. His younger brother, William, married a daughter of Tench Francis, Attorney-General of Pennsylvania. His son was Tench Coxe, a very distinguished gentleman, closely identified with the leading interests of American affairs. Daniel Coxe 5th left issue:

Daniel Coxe, 6th, who was born in Trenton in 1740 and married Sarah, daughter of Dr. John Redman; he died in London in 1828. He was a lawyer, a sergeant, a member of His Majesty's Council and was a faithful attendant until its close in 1775. He was a zealous Tory and, although his house and its contents were burned by the British during their pursuit of Washington in December, 1775, it did not impair his attachment to the royal cause, as he went to New York, serving as President of an Association of Refugees, and remained there until the close of the war. Daniel Coxe, 6th, had issue:

Dr. John Redman Coxe, who married Sarah Cox. daughter of Colonel John Cox, of Revolutionary fame. Dr. Coxe was a noted physician, a literary man and noted for his writings. He was educated abroad and studied medicine under Dr. Rush, in 1793, during the yellow fever epidemic. He practiced efficiently and with noteworthy energy and ability the duties of his office. He was Port Physician in 1708; Physician to the Pennsylvania Hospital, and, for five years, Physician of the Philadelphia Dispensary. In 1809 he was Professor of Chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania. 1818 to 1835 he was Professor of Materia Medica and Pharmacy in the University of Pennsylvania. In electrical phenomena Dr. Coxe was among the first American scientists attracted to its study; his familiarity with the science of electricity led him to anticipations of the alleged discovery of Morse many years afterwards. Dr. Coxe had six children, one of whom, Esther Maria

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General John Redman Coxe, the ninth in line, who was born October 6th, 1829. He married Catharine Clifton Bridges, daughter of William Clifton Bridges, a descendant of the first Duke of Chandos, Sir James Bridges, 1663, 1676, whose portrait hangs in the British Museum in London. General Coxe was Issuing Commissary at the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac during the Civil War, while the army was commanded by Generals McClellan, Burnside, Hooker and Meade, General Coxe being on their respective staffs. He also had the honor of being Commissary-General of Pennsylvania with the rank of Brigadier-General during the administration of Governor Hartranft. General Coxe and his wife had issue one daughter,

Mary Louisa Coxe, tenth in line, who married Moses Brown, son of Moses Brown and Mary Waln Wistar. They have one son,

Thomas Wistar Brown, 3rd, eleventh in line, a lawyer, who married Katharine Livingston Baugh.

My grandfather, Dr. John Redman Coxe, having married the daughter of Colonel John Cox, of Revolutionary fame, makes the latter my greatgrandfather on the maternal side. He was the son of John Cox, a merchant of Brunswick, New Jersey, who married Esther Bowes and resided on the Bloombury Farm until 1719, when he

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moved to Philadelphia. He died in 1793. In 1775 he was Major of the Pennsylvania Regiment commanded by John Read. January 4, 1777, he was ordered by General Washington to pursue the enemy after the Battle of Trenton. He saved the army from starvation at Valley Forge. In the history of the life of General Greene it is chronicled that Washington conferred with Colonel Cox as to the advisability of an attack on Trenton, and also that Colonel Cox supplied the Continental Army with the ordinance made at his foundry at Batso. In 1788 he was assistant Quartermaster-General of the Continental Army under General Greene. History also contains the following paragraph: "Colonel Greene could not pass through Trenton without greeting his old friend Colonel Cox. Washington had arrived at Colonel Cox's house just before him and was on the stairs. Each grasped the other's hand and gazed upon the other's face. What love, what faith there must have been in that gaze. It told of eight years of trial, peril and suffering and not a moment of distrust." Colonel Cox's daughters took part in Washington's reception in this city. They married John Stevens, Samuel Witham Stockton, Matthew Barton, James Chestnut and Dr. John Redman Coxe (my grandfather), and the Hon, Horace Binney.

I cannot close without bearing a well-merited and strictly true tribute to the bravery upon the field of battle to the late Charles Brinton Coxe, of Rush's Lancers.

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#### John Alden,

Acting Governor of Plymouth Colony, 1664-5, 1677.

By Elihu Spencer Miller. Read February 3, 1913.

The writer traces his title, in part at least, to membership in this society by descent from John Alden. Though never a governor, Alden was a deputy and presided as such when the governor himself was absent.

Alden comes to the front of the stage in the very winter of the Pilgrims' arrival at Plymouth, when he finds that attempted service in behalf of a friend gains him a novel reward for disinterestedness. He was a handsome and taking young fellow, the tallest man in the colony. He never was a member of the Leyden Congregation, as most of the Pilgrims had been. They had left England thirteen years before under the leadership of Robinson as their pastor, the pilgrimage to America being a second and deferred stage. Alden joined the band at Southampton, whither the pilgrims who had been at Levden came by the "Speedwell" to join with others who were to make the voyage upon the "Mayflower". He was employed there as a cooper. He had just turned twenty-one. His resolve to join the pilgrims must have been the first important proceeding of his adult years. His engagement to Priscilla Mullins must have been the second.

When the "Speedwell" had been declared unseaworthy, by a trick of the master, it has been stated, and taken back to Southampton, the shifting of plans and leaving behind some members of the party did not dislodge Alden. Though not a principal in the undertaking and not pledged to stay in America, he joined his fortunes with the band. The inducement to Alden for casting in his lot for good and all is not to be found in creature comforts enjoyed in colony life. Although the winter

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was an unusually mild one, its vigors from the time of their arrival on December 11, 1620, together with unaccustomed and rude victuals, caused the deaths of one-half the whole party before summer came. In their ten weeks' voyage they had consumed all their flour, and much of their whole stock of supplies.

Providentially, the Indians who had inhabited the locality at which they landed and settled, had been depopulated by pestilence a few years before. On December 21, 1620, the pilgrims first landed with the purpose to remain. Their objective point had been the Virginia On this occasion John Alden or Mary Chilton, a girl of eleven years, stepped first, of the company, to Forefathers' Rock from the boat by which successive detachments were rowed in. Scattered through the section which is now New England were between 30,000 and 40,000 Indians. Some 15,000 or 20,000 were within forty miles, yet through this territory Standish ranged with his sixteen soldiers. His war experience in Holland gave him military prestige. Many Indians whom they met were friendly. One chief admitted Standish and his band to the privilege of sleeping on a raised platform occupied by himself and his squaw. The vermin with which they became infested as a result quite obliterated the sense of distinction accorded them. Several of Standish's men would find their spouses awaiting them on return from these expeditions. Their captain got no such cheer, for Rose Standish had filled one of the first graves. In an unusually short time he cast his thoughts upon the subject of a second alliance. Priscilla Mullins (or Molines, or Molineaux), a Walloon Huguenot, was a beautiful girl of eighteen. Within two months after the colonists landed, Standish despatched his envoy to Priscilla's father, William Mullins. John Alden was the messenger. He had been assigned to Standish's household. The father died on February 21, 1621, and all the rest of his family, except Priscilla. followed him before the first summer. The proposal must have been received only a few weeks before the

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In the spring the young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love. It is not strange that Alden was married to Priscilla but a few months later. The pretty picture has been drawn of Alden placing his wife upon a bull, over whose back he had thrown a handsome piece of broadcloth, and bringing her home thus after the ceremony by a rope attached to the bull's nose ring. But the stern chronicler says "in 1624 Edward Winslow returned in the "Charity" bringing beside a good supply, three heifers and a bull, the first beginning of any cattle of that kind in the land." They lived happy many decades after. Eleven children were born to them. Elizabeth, their first born, was the earliest white woman born in the colony. At the funeral of Josiah Winslow, sixty years later (1680), among those present, we are told, were "the venerable John Alden, with Priscilla upon his arm." Alden died in 1687, aged eighty-eight years. Priscilla must have died before him.

Perhaps the health, which promoted their great age, is attributable to her good cooking. True, we have said all her father's family died the first winter at Plymouth, but what woman, under such conditions, could have got her menage in reasonable operation within the brief interval? Indeed, those who have been exceptionally privileged with culinary benefits, must be the first to pine away when conditions for a time overwhelm both

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the kitchen and its managing spirit. As a writer declares "There were no regrets when John and Priscilla gave a party." Among her fetching ensembles was "partritch stewd." The receipt was inherited "take marrow bones of beef or mutton, boil them well, strayn the broth, and put into an earthen pot, then stuff the partritch with whole pepper and marrow, and sew up all the vents of the bird; then take olives, mace and whole pepper, and let them boil together with the partritch; when it is enough cast into the pot powder of ginger, salt and saffron and serve it up in broth." To vary the delights to the palate she would serve, "Hennes in Brette," for which concoction also her formula is preserved.

Beyond a doubt Alden was a popular man, a public-spirited one and wielded an influence. In 1626 he joined with Standish, Brewster and Howland in paying off to the Merchant Adventurers in London the debt of the colony, which before could get no credit. They were so enabled to open to the colonies themselves the benefit of available trade. In 1627 he removed to Duxbury, a few miles around the bay.

In 1633 Alden was chosen a member of the Board of Assistants to the Governor. From 1640 to 1650, he was not an Assistant but was Deputy from Duxbury. In 1666 he became first on the list of Assistants and continued so until his death. In this position he was styled Deputy Governor and "on him devolved the duty of presiding in the absence of the Governor; and on these occasions he ruled, 'we are told,' with dignity and perseverance." He was indispensable to important deliberations, often ode of the Council of War, many times an arbitrator, a surveyor of lands for the Government, as well as for individuals, and in several important occasions was authorized to act as Agent or Attorney for the Colony. He was chosen Treasurer in 1656 and held that office for three successive years. So fitful and halting was the invasion at that day of the office seeker, that a law was found necessary, prescribing

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"that if now or hereafter any were elected to the office of Governor, and would not stand to the election, nor hold and execute the office for his year, that then he be amerced in twenty pounds sterling fine; and in case refused to be paid on lawful demand of the ensuing Governor, then to be levied out of the goods and chattels of the said person refusing. It was further ordered and decreed, that if any were elected to the office of Council and refuse to hold the place, that then he be amerced in ten pounds sterling fine; and in case he refused to be paid, to be forthwith levied. Also, that in case one and the same person should be elected Governor a second year, having held the place the foregoing, it should be lawful for him to refuse, without any amercement, and the company to proceed to a new election, except they can prevail with him by entreaty."

At this later day it has been found possible to greatly mollify these penalties for the crime of balking on appointment to office.

Though the youngest of "the old servants," as the leading men of the original Pilgrims appear to have been called, Alden became one of the most important.

"He was possessed of a sound judgment, and of talents, which though not brilliant were by no means ordinary, and disputable. The writers who mention him, bear ample testimony to his industry, integrity and exemplary piety, and he has been represented as a worthy and useful man, of great humility, and eminent for the sanctity of his life. He was decided, ardent, resolute, and persevering, indifferent to danger, a bold and hardy man: . . . of incorruptible integrity, an iron nerved Puritan, who could hew down forests and live on crumbs. He was a puritan, both in theory and in practice; and a professed disciple of Jesus Christ, he lived in accordance with his profession. He was a meek, humble, sincere, pious and faithful follower of the blessed

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Redeemer, and his end was peace and triumph. . . . In addition to his spiritual blessings, he was crowned with that competence, which is vital to content, with an uncommon length of days, and with a goodly number of children, all of whom delighted in the ordinances of God, and finally left that good name in the world, which is better than precious ointment. He was always a firm supporter of the clergy, and the church, and everything of an innovating nature received his determined opposition."

Nevertheless he was at times so crippled in his estate that about 1656 the Court once took action as follows:

"In regard that Mr. Alden is low in his estate, and occasioned to spend time at the Courts on the Contreyes occations, and soe hath done this many years; the Court have allowed him a small gratuity, the sume of ten pounds to be payed by the Treasurer."

The inventory of his estate at his death was only \$50, but this was because he had divided his property in anticipation. He is described in advanced age as "stern, austere and unvielding."

John Alden was a prolific stock. The record of the Society of Mayflower Descendants shows the number of members descended from him to be as great, or greater, than from any other Colonial patriarch. At the present day of Colonial Dames in Pennsylvania, those who claim descent from John Alden are more numerous than those traced from any other ancestor, save three. This is the more remarkable because Alden was not settled in Pennsylvania but in Massachusetts.

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#### Robert Brooke,

ACTING GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND, 1652.

#### Thomas Brooke,

ACTING GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND, 1720.

### Edward Shippen,

DEPUTY GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1703-4.

By Edwin Swift Balch.

Read April 7, 1913.

It was while listening to Major John Redman Coxe read his interesting paper about the Coxe family that the fundamental idea of this paper came into my mind. Major Coxe not only told us something, though not enough, of his Colonial Governor ancestor, but he also told us something of other prominent members of his own family. This plan or method seems to me commendable and worth adopting, at any rate sometimes, in papers for the Society of Colonial Governors. For it is historically valuable. In many instances it may save and put on record information which otherwise might get lost. It also shows to some extent the lines of descent of the ancestors of the Colonial Governors, and our own lines of descent from them. And thus the Colonial Governors do not stand out as isolated personalities, as they would, for instance, in a biographical dictionary. The partial presentation, at least, of their genealogy connects them more closely with general history. They are placed to some extent in a genealogical and historical environment which acts as a sort of frame for the central portrait. They do not appear as accidents or sports, but take position in the evolution of colonial history. Moreover, this method enables several presentations of accounts of the same man by different descendants. There is another point also on which

Robert Brooke, Acting Governor of Maryland, 1652.

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Acting Governor of Maryland, 1720.

Edmard Shippen,

DEPUTY GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1703-4.

By Edwin Swift Halen Read April 7, 1913.

it may be well to lay stress. It is important to give the historic sources from which we have drawn our material: if from printed books or papers, we should give references: if from manuscript letters or papers, we should mention the fact. In attempting now to read to you this evening some notes of my Colonial Governor ancestors, I shall, following Major Coxe's excellent precedent, also say something of some other members of my family who did work of historic importance.

It so happens that among all my ancestors there is none with the name Balch who was a governor. But several members of the Balch family married descendants of Colonial Governors, and therefore it is that I am reading you this paper this evening. By rights it is my brother who should be doing so, for he it is who worked up the history and genealogy of the Balch family into a book, *Balch Genealogica*, 1907, from which I have drawn many of my data.

The name Balch is found in England, but the name is also found on the Continent, in Flanders, and especially in the Balkan peninsula, in Rumania and Serbia. It seems probable that the word means a support or beam. In England the name Balch is found in Surrey as far back as the middle of the thirteenth century, but the principal home of the Balch family in England was Somerset. There were two emigrants to America from Somerset, each named John, the first of whom came to Massachusetts in 1623, the second to Maryland in 1658, and we usually speak of the descendants of the first as the northern family and of the second as the southern family.

One of the descendants of John Balch of Maryland was my great granduncle, the Rev. Hezekiah James Balch. He graduated at Princeton College in 1766, and became a Presbyterian minister. He had charge of two congregations in North Carolina, and thus happened to be on the spot when Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, revolted and on May 20, 1775, declared itself independent. A number of men formed a convention to

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It so happens that among all my ancestors there is none with the name Balch who was a governor. But several members of the Balch family married descendants of Colonial Governors, and therefore it is that I am reading you this paper this evening. By rights it is my brother who should be doing so, for he it is who worked up the history and genealogy of the Balch family into a book, Balch Genealogica, 1907, from which I have

drawn many of my data

The name Balch is found in England, but the name is also found on the Continent, in Flanders, and especially in the Balkan peninsula, in Rumania and Serbia. It seems probable that the word means a support or beam. In England the name Balch is found in Surrey as far back as the middle of the thirteenth century, but the principal home of the Balch family in England was Somerset, home of the Balch family in England was Somerset, There were two emigrants to America from Somerset, each named John, the first of whom came to Massachusetts in 1623, the second to Maryland in 1658, and we usually speak of the descendants of the first as the northern family and of the second as the southern family.

One of the descendants of John Balch of Maryland was my great granduncle, the Roy Hezeldish James Balch. He graduated at Princeton College in 1766, and became a Presbyterian minister. He had charge of two congregations in North Carolina, and thus happened to be on the spot when Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, revolted and on May 20, 1775, declared itself independent. A number of men formed a convention to pendent. A number of men formed a convention to

deliberate on what measures should be taken to forward the revolutionary movement, which had just come to a crisis at the battle of Lexington, and a committee of three was appointed to draw up a Declaration of Independence. One of this committee was Hezekiah James Balch.

Of course, this movement was local, and did not extend much beyond Mecklenburg County. It has been claimed, sometimes, that there was no such revolt in Mecklenburg County. The matter, however, has been thoroughly investigated by Dr. George W. Graham, of Charlotte, North Carolina, who in a small book Why North Carolinians believe in the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, has presented the evidence remaining on the matter. This would be too long to touch on here, except as regards the most vital proof, and this consists of a number of deeds now on file in the court house at Charlotte, Mecklenburg County. Some of them read as follows: "This indenture made this 13th day February, 1779, and in the fourth year of our independence." "This indenture made this 28th day of January, in the fifth year of our independence and the year of our Lord Christ 1780." "This indenture made on the 19th day of May and in the year of our Lord 1783, and the eighth of our independence." The crucial point of these court records is that in each case the number of years spoken of as "of our independence" totals up as including the year 1775. There are a number of other less decisive proofs, but all together they form conclusive evidence that fourteen months before the Declaration of Independence of the 4th of July, 1776, Mecklenburg County had decalled itself independent and had promulgated a Declaration of Independence which was a forerunner of, and may have been to some extent a model for, the Declaration of Independence of the United States. There can be no doubt that the American Colonies were seething with revolution long before the 4th of July, 1776, and the battle of Lexington and the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence were steps, and very important steps, in the evolution of this revolution.

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Another descendant of John Balch of Maryland, was the Rev. Stephen Bloomer Balch, my great grandfather, who, after serving for three years as captain in the Revolutionary army, became a minister and had a church at Georgetown, D. C., for fifty-three years. Two of his sermons, published at Georgetown in 1791, are, it is believed, the first publication printed in the District of Columbia. He was much beloved, and among his staunchest friends were the Catholic clergy of Georgetown and Washington, six of whom accompanied his funeral procession. Stephen Bloomer Balch married Elizabeth Beall, a great granddaughter of Colonel Ninian Beall, and a great granddaughter of Governor Thomas Brooke.

Colonel Ninian Beall was such a picturesque colonial personality I must say a word about him before speaking of the Brookes. He was a great fighter. He was born in Scotland in 1625, and was in the Scottish army which fought in 1650 against Cromwell at Dunbar, where he was taken prisoner and soon after transported to Maryland. Here he took an active part in the military affairs of the province, became colonel and commander-in-chief of the provincial troops. There is a tradition in the family that in a hand-to-hand fight with some Indians he split an Indian's head clean in two with a blow from a Scottish claymore. Much of the land upon which Georgetown now stands was granted to Ninian Beall by Lord Baltimore in 1703.

Governor Robert Brooke and his grandson, Governor Thomas Brooke, under both of whom I claim membership in the Pennsylvania Society of Colonial Governors, were both Governors of Maryland. The Brooke family, who belonged to the class of "gentlemen," came from Hampshire, England, and the history and genealogy of the family were worked up some years ago by my brother and published by him as a small book, *The Brooke Family of Whitchurch, Hampshire, England, 1899*, from which I cull many facts.

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The grandfather of the first Governor Brooke was Richard Brooke, gentleman, who lived at Whitchurch in

the latter half of the sixteenth century, and who was one of the large landholders in the neighborhood. He married Elizabeth Twyne, and a brass plate, originally in the church at Whitchurch, bears an inscription, of which these are the opening lines:

> "This grave of grief hath swallowed up With wide and open mouth The bodie of good Richard Brooke, of Whitchurch, Hampton, South And Elizabeth his wedded wife, twice Twenty years and one Sweet Jesus hath their soules in heaven, Ye ground flesh, skin and bone In Januarie worne with age daie sixteenth Died hee From Christ full fifteene hundred years and More by ninetie three But death her twist of life in Maie, daie twentieth did untwine From Christ full fifteen hundred years And more by ninetie nine."

One of the sons of Richard Brooke, Thomas Brooke, married Susan Forster, a daughter of Sir Thomas Forster, who was a judge of the Court of Common Pleas in England in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and one of the first governors of Thomas Sutton's hospital, the Charter House. Sir Thomas Forster belonged to the Forsters of Northumberland, and through them and the de Umfravilles was descended from Saire de Quincey, Earl of Winchester, one of the sureties of Magna Charta (June 15, 1215).\* Through Alexander, Earl of Buchan, one of the six regents of Scotland in 1286, he was descended from Duncan the First, King of Scotland.† Among his forbears also were Henry the First of France, ‡ a grandson of Hughes Capet, and various other important personages.

<sup>\*</sup> Burke's Dormant and Extinct Peerage, see de Quincey: The Complete Peerage, London, 1910, Volume I, pages 147–148, 152; London, 1912, Volume II, pages 374–375: The Genealogist, New Series, London, 1910, Volume XXVI, pages 204, 206, XVI: The Genealogist, New Series, edited by K. W. Murray, London, Volume VII, page 181: Visitations of Hertfordshire, edited by W. C. Metcalfe, London, 1886, page 143: T. W. Balch: The Brooke Family of Whitchurch, Hampshire, England, Philadelphia, 1899.

<sup>†</sup> James Anderson: Royal Genealogies, London, 1732, page 758. ‡ C. H. Browning: Americans of Royal Descent, 6th Edition, Philadelphia, 1905, page 147.

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Governor Robert Brooke was the third son of Thomas Brooke and Susan Forster. He was born at London on the 3d of June, 1602. He matriculated at Wadham College, Oxford, on April 28, 1618, and received the degrees of B.A. on July 6, 1620, and of M.A. on April 24, 1624. In 1627 he married Mary Baker, and after her death he married in 1635 Mary Mainwaring. On September 20, 1649, Lord Baltimore commissioned Robert Brooke commander of a new county in Maryland, with full powers to levy and command troops, grant commissions, hold court, etc. He also appointed him a member of the Privy Council of Maryland. In 1650, Robert Brooke sailed from England in his own ship and arrived in Maryland at the end of June. He brought with him his wife, children, and a number of servants, forty persons in all, at that time guite an addition to the colony. On October 3, 1650, Charles County on the Patuxent River was created and Robert Brooke named Commander. The Council of State for the Commonwealth of England sent over some Commissioners in 1652 to reduce the Old Dominion to the authority of Parliament, and on March 20, 1652, the Commissioners deposed William Stone from the governorship of Maryland and named Robert Brooke Acting Governor. The Commissioners reinstated Stone as Governor on June 28 of the same year, and Robert Brooke was continued on the Council. He died on the 20th of July, 1663.

Thomas Brooke, the second son of Governor Robert Brooke and Mary Baker Brooke, came over from England with his father. He became a captain and then a major in the Maryland troops. He was at various times a commissioner, a burgess and sheriff of Calvert County. In 1667 he took part in an expedition against the Indians. Major Brooke married Elizabeth Hatton and died in 1676.

The eldest son of Major Brooke was Governor, also called Colonel, Thomas Brooke, of Brookfield, Prince George County, Maryland. He was justice of the Cal-

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vert County Court in 1684, and from 1689 to 1692, and was Deputy-Commissary of the County in 1686. In 1697 he was one of the Commissioners to treat with the Piscataway Indians. He was sworn a justice of the Provincial Court May 1, 1694, and was appointed Commissary-General, June 5, 1700. On June 26, 1702, he was named Judge of the High Court of Admiralty. From 1692 until 1707 and again from 1715 until 1724 he was a member of the Council of Maryland. In 1720 he was President of the Council and Acting Governor of the Province. He died in 1730.

It is through my mother that I claim descent from another Colonial Governor, Edward Shippen, Governor of Pennsylvania. The records of the Shippen family were originally collected by my father, Thomas Balch, and published by him in 1855 in his book Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania. This was not, however, my father's most important piece of work, which was distinctly the letter he published in the New York Tribune on May 13, 1865, in which he suggested that the then existing differences between the United States and England should be referred to an International Court, and that this Court should be composed of jurists. This letter was the starting point of the Geneva Tribunal which judged the Alabama claims in 1871-1872, and it was the first suggestion ever made that international arbitral judges should be chosen, as they now are, from men learned in International Law. And I believe I am justified in saving that this suggestion is one of the three or four most important steps in the evolution of international justice. In the working out of the history of the Shippen family, my father was followed by my sister, Elise Willing Balch, who wrote the essay Edward Shippen, published in Charles P. Keith's The Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania; and by my brother, who, together with my sister, went in 1902 to Methley, Yorkshire, England, and gathered there material for his paper The English Ancestors of the Shippen Family and Edward

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Shippen of Philadelphia, published in 1904 in The Penn-

sylvania Magazine of History and Biography.

The Shippen family came from Yorkshire, England. The earliest positive record about them appears to be one in the registers of the parish of Monk Fryston, mentioning the christening of Janet Shippen on September 12, 1539. After this there are numerous entries about Shippens in parish registers in several villages in Yorkshire, where the name is still found to-day. "Shippen" as a word is also in use in agricultural Yorkshire, and

denotes a partly covered cattle yard.

Governor Edward Shippen was baptized on 5th March, 1630, at Methley, Yorkshire, and died at Philadelphia on October 2, 1712. He emigrated to Boston in 1668, not to escape religious persecution, but to better his fortunes. In so doing he ran straight into a hotbed of saintly unpleasantness. For having married Elizabeth Lybrand, a Quakeress, he became a Quaker and shared in the "jailings, whippings, banishments and imprisonments," the ruling religious powers in Boston inflicted on the Quakers to teach them to be good and to keep their opinions to themselves. Becoming tired of Bostonese amenities, Edward Shippen migrated to Philadelphia, and in 1701 was named in William Penn's Charter as mayor of Philadelphia. He proved such a good mayor, that he was made President of the Provincial Council in 1702, serving till 1704, and on the death of Penn's Deputy, Hamilton, in May, 1703, became Governor, and continued such until the arrival of John Evans in December, 1703. His house long bore the name of the Governor's House, and he himself "was distinguished for three great things; the biggest person, the biggest house and the biggest coach."

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## Daniel Coxe, M.D.,

GOVERNOR OF WEST JERSEY, 1687-92.

By Henry Brinton Coxe.

Read June 9, 1913.

The first member of the Coxe family to take an active interest in the exploration and development of the British Colonies in North America was Dr. Daniel Coxe of London. He was born in 1640, and was graduated from the University of Cambridge with the degree of M. D. per literas regias in 1669. From early manhood to the day of his death in 1730, at the mature age of ninety, the record of his life is a continuous story of brilliant and useful activity in medicine, science, politics, finance, and, above all, in the development of the American Colonies. A portrait of him, painted during his middle life, and which has been attributed to Sir Peter Lely, is in the possession of the American branch of the family. It depicts a handsome man of keen intellect coupled with a kindly sense of humor.

Dr. Coxe came of a Somersetshire family of landed gentry. His grandfather, also Daniel Coxe, was granted the family coat-of-arms by the "Long Parliament" in 1648, for services rendered to the Commonwealth.

During his early life his interests seem to have been principally devoted to medicine and scientific research. In 1664, two years after the organization of the Royal Society, when he was only twenty-four years old, he was elected a fellow. He read many papers on various scientific subjects before this august body, his earliest relating to a series of experiments which he performed to study the effects of nicotine poisoning on animals. This address was presented in 1665, and places Coxe among the first men of science to recognize the value of experimentation upon animals as a means to save human life. He was one of the court physicians of Charles the

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Second, and afterward physician to Queen Anne. He was elected a member of the Royal College of Physicians in 1680. He maintained a private chemical laboratory where he conducted many interesting experiments, the most important of which was on the subject of crystallization.

While it is probable that Dr. Coxe became interested in the subject of the development of the British Colonies in North America when he was still a very young man, his first important activity in this great subject took place in 1684, when he acquired an interest in the Province of West Jersey. Two years later, he purchased an interest in the Province of East Jersey. In 1687, owing to the death of Governor Billinge the entire Billinge holdings of land in West Jersey, coupled with the right of government of the province under the grant of the Duke of York to Billinge, was offered for sale by the Billinge heirs. Dr. Coxe purchased this grant, thereby becoming Governor of West Jersey.

Although Dr. Coxe never came to this country he took an active interest in the welfare of the West Jersey colony, not only during his governorship, but afterwards, until the time of his death. Soon after he became governor he addressed a letter to the colony in which he outlined his plans for its future. He was greatly interested in the development of the town of Burlington, where his agents and deputy governors resided, and established a ship building industry there. That he cared for the moral as well as physical welfare of his colonists is shown by his activities in connection with the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." In March, 1602. Dr. Coxe sold the greater part of his holdings, including the right of government, to the "West Jersey Society," a stock company consisting chiefly of London merchants. It is probable that he made this sale in order to realize funds to carry out his projects in the Province of Carolina.

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colonies, a far greater proposition, which was unfortunately doomed to failure, attracted his attention soon after he took up the West Jersey property. Some time between 1692 and 1698 he purchased the Patent of the Province of Carolana, which was originally granted by Charles the First to his Attorney General, Sir Robert The grant included all of "North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Louisiana, including that part of America which lies between the thirty-first and thirty-sixth degrees of latitude, and the rivers San Mattheo and Passo Magno, and stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, with the exception of Saint Augustine and New Mexico." The San Mattheo River is evidently what is now the St. John's, flowing into the Atlantic at Jacksonville, as it bounded the Spanish Province of St. Augustine on the west and north; the Passo Magno was in all probability what is now called the Rio Grande. Considering that about eighty per cent. of the territory involved was either actually occupied or well known to be claimed by either France or Spain, this grant seems to have been a most generous one.

Heath sold his grant to Lord Maltravers, afterwards Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who made several very expensive attempts to plant colonies, with rather indifferent

success, and finally sold out to Coxe.

The history of Dr. Coxe's successful efforts to reestablish the title of the Carolana Grant, and his expeditions of exploration, and unfortunately unsuccessful efforts to plant permanent colonies, is told in a most interesting little book written by his son, Col. Daniel Coxe, entitled A Description of the English Province of Carolana, by the Spaniards call'd Florida, and by the French, La Louisiane, also of the Great and Famous River Meschacebe or Mississippi. The first edition of this book was published in London in 1722, and was followed by a second edition in 1727, and a third in 1741, two years after the death of the author. The second and third edition contain a map, showing the Continent of North America from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico,

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and from the eastern coast west to the sources of the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains. Considering that by far the greater part of the data for preparing this map was drawn from hearsay reports of trappers and Indian guides, it is a marvel of accuracy.

As explained by his son, Dr. Coxe claimed, under the original Carolana grant, only those portions still remaining unsettled at the time of his purchase; that is, the unsettled parts lying south and west of North and South Carolina on the Gulf of Mexico, and the enormous

area of the Mississippi Valley.

Dr. Coxe made great efforts to explore this territory and to establish colonies thereon. His most important expedition was that which he fitted out in 1698 for the exploration of the Mississippi River from its mouth. No short account of this expedition could better describe it than the following quotation from the preface of Col. Coxe's Carolana, above referred to:

"The vast trouble and expence (those two great impediments of publick good) the said proprietor has undergone to effect all this, will scarcely be credited; for he not only, at his sole charge, for several years, establish'd and kept up a correspondence with the Governors and Chief Indian Traders in the English Colonies on the Continent of America, imploy'd many people on discoveries by land to the west, north and south of this vast extent of ground, but likewise in the year 1698 he equipped and fitted out two ships, provided with above twenty great guns, sixteen patereroes, abundance of small arms, ammunition, stores and provisions of all sorts, not only for the use of those on board and for discovery by sea, but also for building a fortification, and settling a colony by land; there being in both vessels, besides sailors and common men, above thirty English and French volunteers, some Noblemen, and all gentlemen.

"One of these vessels discover'd the mouths of the great and famous river Meschacebe, or, as and from the eastern coast west to the sources of the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains. Considering that by far the greater part of the data for preparing this map was drawn from hearsay reports of trappers and Indian widow it is

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"One of these vessels discover'd the mouths of the great and famous river Meschacebe, or, as term'd by the French, Mississippi, enter'd and ascended it above one hundred miles, and had perfected a settlement therein if the Captain of the other ship had done his duty and not deserted them. They howsoever took possession of this country in the King's name, and left, in several places, the Arms of Great Britain affix'd on boards and trees for a memorial thereof.

"And here I cannot forbear taking notice, that this was the first ship that ever enter'd that river from the sea, or that perfectly discover'd or describ'd its several mouths, in opposition to the boasts and falsities of the French."

The Boasts and Falsities of the French are evidently the result of the unfortunate LaSalle Expedition of 1684-85, as further on in the preface Colonel Coxe refers to the "Project fram'd by Monsieur De la Salle." While all credit is due to LaSalle for his heroic efforts to explore the Mississippi Valley from Canada, via the Great Lakes, and for his trip down the Mississippi in canoes resulting in his planting the standard of France at one of the mouths of the great river in 1682, he certainly did not succeed, when on the expedition of 1684-85 in either finding the mouth of the river, or entering it from the sea. In all probability he would have been the first to acknowledge his failure, had he not been foully murdered by his associates while on an expedition to try and bring succor from Canada to his starving and disease-ridden colony. LaSalle's failure can be traced to two causes: to the treachery of his associates and to the fact that he had taken no observation of the longitude of the mouth of the Mississippi on his expedition of 1682, which resulted in his planting his colony very much too far to the west. The very few members of the ill-fated expedition who survived escaped by the way of Canada. On their return to France they undoubtedly lied about the discovery of the mouths of the Mississippi. Among the survivors was the priest Cavelier, the brother of LaSalle,

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In spite of the failure of the expedition of 1698, Dr. Coxe made several other attempts to plant permanent colonies on the Province of Carolana, the most notable of which was that of 1700 under Sur. Wm. Waller, the Sieur Charles de Sailly, and the Marquis de la Muce, which was established at Manikintown, on the James River. The Carolana Grant existed until 1769, when the heirs of Dr. Coxe surrendered it to the Crown and in return received a grant of one hundred thousand acres in what is now the State of New York.

Col. Daniel Coxe, the author of the Description of Carolana, was the eldest son of Dr. Daniel Coxe of London and was born in 1673. He emigrated to New Jersey in 1702, and first settled near Cape May, on the Delaware Bay shore, at a place which is still known as "Coxe Hall." There he built himself a house, of brick imported from England. The outlines of the foundation of the house can still be traced and an old brick-lined well was reopened by one of his descendants a few years ago from which several bricks stamped "D. C. Lon. 1700" were recovered. Whether on account of press of business, or on account of being driven out by mosquitoes, Col. Coxe in a year or two moved to Burlington, and Coxe Hall fell into ruins and was used as a brickyard by the nearby settlers.

Besides acting as his father's agent in West Jersey, Col. Coxe at different times occupied positions as member of the Royal Council, Speaker of the Assembly and Judge of the Supreme Court of the Colony. He was also Colonel of the Colonial Militia. He died at Trenton in 1739 and was buried in old St. Mary's Church at Burlington. Between 1702 and 1739 he made several trips back to London. On the occasion of one of these in 1730, probably on account of the last illness of his father, he was appointed Grand Master of Masons for the colonies. This was the first grant of a Patent of Masonry to the

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colonies and established the first lodge of the society in this country. These facts are recorded on a bronze tablet which was erected to his memory only a few years ago in old St. Mary's Church by the Free Masons of New Jersey.

That Col. Coxe thoroughly understood the political situation in America, is well shown in the preface of his Description of Carolana, in which he warns the English public of the danger of the British Colonies from the encroachment of the French upon their boundaries from Canada and Louisiana. He foresaw in 1722 almost exactly what was to happen thirty years later, when the French had established forts and trading stations from the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes down the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys to Louisiana, thereby cutting off the English Colonies from the west, and resulting in the French and Indian War. He suggested the first union of the colonies, which has usually been attributed to Franklin, and which was used by Franklin at the Albany Convention in 1754, and is popularly known as the "Albany Plan." To quote from John Bach McMaster's Benjamin Franklin as a Man of Letters:

"Both the design and the cutting were the work of Franklin. The idea of union had long been in his mind, and to the conference which gathered at Albany he brought a carefully drawn plan. The credit of that plan is commonly given to him. But it ought in justice never to be mentioned without a reference to the name of Daniel Coxe. Thirty-two years before, when Franklin was mixing ink and setting type in the office of the New England Courant. Coxe published a tract called A Description of the English Province of Carolana, and in the preface of that tract is the Albany Plan. So early as 1722 Coxe foresaw the French aggression, called on the Colonies to unite to prevent it, and drew up the heads of a scheme for united action. Coxe proposed a Governor General by the Crown, and a congress of delegates chosen by the Assemblies of the Colocolonies and established the first lodge of the society in this country. These facts are recorded on a bronze tablet which was erected to his memory only a few years ago in old St. Mary's Church by the Free Masons of

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nies. Franklin proposed the very same thing. Coxe would have each colony send two delegates annually elected. Franklin would have from two to seven delegates triennially elected. By each the Governor-General was given a veto. By each the Grand Council, with consent of the Governor General, was to determine the quotas of men, money and provisions the colonies should contribute to the common defence. The difference between them is a difference in detail, not in plan. The detail belongs to Franklin. The plan must be ascribed to Coxe.

"Excellent as the Albany Plan was, the colonies and the home government alike rejected it; no unity of action followed; and the war, which a little energy, a little unity, would have soon ended, dragged on for nine years."

In the Bodleian Library of Oxford there are preserved many of the original letters of Dr. Daniel Coxe. Some of these have been copied in manuscript or by photography. These copies have been referred to in the preparation of this address. There is a manuscript volume, compiled by the late Brinton Coxe, entitled, The West Jersey Society, which has also been referred to. The most important sources of information, however, have been the Biographical Notice of Doctor Daniel Coxe, of London, by G. D. Scull of Oxford, England, which appears in Vol. VII of the Pennsylvania Magazine (1883) and the article on "Tench Coxe" (the grandson of Col. Daniel Coxe) in Simpson's Life of Eminent Philadelphians.

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## Samuel Carpenter,

DEPUTY GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1694-98.

By Stacy Barcroft Lloyd.

Read December 1, 1913.

Samuel Carpenter, the subject of this sketch, was Deputy for Governor William Penn from November 24, 1694, until September 3, 1698. Penn, it will be remembered, acquired the Royal Charter for Pennsylvania in 1681. But he was unable, except on two occasions, to govern his possessions directly. The administration therefore naturally devolved upon his deputy governors.

It is generally conceded that, next to Penn himself, Samuel Carpenter was at this time the most wealthy and influential citizen in the colony. He was a man of great force in every sense of the word, and, being a Quaker of the most pronounced views, he, of course, proved to be of the greatest value and assistance to Penn during the

latter's enforced absence in England.

He came to Philadelphia from the Island of Barbadoes, West Indies, in 1683. But strangely enough, with all his prominence, Carpenter left to his descendants no clue concerning his birthplace and early life. It was not until quite recently that it was discovered that he originally came from County Sussex in England. In the volume entitled Samuel Carpenter and His Descendants, compiled by the late Edward Carpenter and his son, General Louis Henry Carpenter, will be found the most complete history of his career before and after he came to the colony. I acknowledge my indebtedness to this work for some of the many interesting facts about Samuel Carpenter which I am including in this paper. Indeed, from the wealth of material therein contained, and in other references examined, it has been quite a task to confine this narrative within reasonable bounds.

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We learn for the first time from General Carpenter's book that Samuel Carpenter was born at Horsham, Sussex, England, in 1649; the date of his birth appearing in the old register of the Parish Church of St. Mary's, at that place. The discovery that Horsham near Philadelphia was named by Samuel Carpenter gave the clue. The register at Horsham indicates that he was descended from a Thomas Carpenter who died at Horsham in 1581; and that his father died in 1671.

Samuel Carpenter had three sisters and three brothers, the latter being named John, Abraham, and Joshua respectively. John remained in England, while Abraham and Joshua came to Philadelphia. Joshua Carpenter became a prosperous and influential citizen. These two brothers belonged to the Church of England, while Samuel was a Ouaker. Samuel had evidently embraced the Quaker faith before leaving England. At that time there was a colony of Quakers in the Island of Barbadoes, West Indies, which he joined about 1673. He stayed there about ten years. The growing influence of the Ouakers with the slaves had become so distasteful to their owners that the latter were instrumental in having laws passed which had the effect of causing the Quakers to leave. This situation is referred to in Stark's History of the Barbadoes, page 162: "The Quakers, with that benevolent feeling for converting the heathen to Christianity, so prominent in their character, saw a wide field opened for their exertions after the introduction of African slaves. Their endeavors to instruct the negroes were however considered dangerous as promulgating a sense of equality which might lead to insurrection, and many were obliged to leave the island in consequence of severe persecution. On the 21st April, 1676, an Act passed the Council to prevent negroes from attending the religious meetings of Quakers; this caused all the Quakers to finally leave the Island."

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The religious principles of early Friends caused them to refuse to render military service or pay for the sup-

port of the National Church.

In consequence of this persecution Samuel Carpenter came to Philadelphia. He arrived about July 10, 1683, having considerable money, and soon became the owner of plantations, mines, mills, wharves and other property. He married Hannah Hardiman, who was born in Wales in 1645, and who died in Philadelphia in 1718, aged eighty-three years. She became a prominent and influential member of the religious Society of Friends or Quakers, and possessed considerable intellectual ability.

The marriage certificate is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and is the earliest in existence.

In Proud's History of Pennsylvania the following notice of Samuel Carpenter appears: "Samuel Carpenter arrived early in Pennsylvania, and was one of the most considerable traders and settlers. He held for many years some of the greatest offices of the government, and through a great variety of business, he preserved the love and esteem of a large number of acquaintances. His great ability, activity and benevolent disposition of mind, in divers capacities, but more particularly among his friends, the Quakers, are said to have rendered him a very useful member not only of that religious Society, but of the community in general."

Apart from holding the office of Deputy Governor, Carpenter held the following offices (see Pa. Archives,

2nd Series, Vol. IX):

Member of the Governor's Provincial Council, 1687–89, 1695, 1697, -1713.

Provincial Treasurer: (First Treasurer) 1704, 1710–1711–13.

Member of Assembly 1693, 1694, 1696. Member of Assembly (Bucks Co.) 1705.

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At the time of the appointment of Carpenter as deputy governor Penn was in England. Sydney George Fisher in his book *Pennsylvania Colony and State* refers to the occasion of the appointment of Carpenter as deputy governor. He says, page 22: "Penn was unfortunately still unable to leave England although he had several times attempted it and had been on the eve of departure. Thomas Lloyd, the excellent Welsh Quaker, and undoubtedly the best man for governor, was dead. Markham was appointed deputy and given two assistants, John Goodson and Samuel Carpenter; by the advice of both or one of whom he must act. This change in effect to create an executive composed of three deputies."

To better understand the conditions in Pennsylvania at this time a reference to the circumstances under which Pennsylvania came to be settled by Penn and his followers is valuable:

"The Province of Pennsylvania was granted to William Penn principally for two reasons, which are mentioned, though not fully in the royal charter. First, on account of the patriotic and religious spirit exhibited by Penn himself, in a commendable desire to enlarge our English Empire, and promote such useful commodities as may be of benefit to us and our dominions, as also to reduce the savage natives by gentle and just manners to the love of civil society and Christian religion. Second, to reward, by emoluments to the son, the meritorious services in the past of his father, the Admiral, Sir William Penn, and at the same time to extinguish a money debt of no inconsiderable size, due from the Crown for those very services." (Duke of York's Book of Laws, page 465.)

Mr. Fisher refers to the second reason in his book already quoted from. He says, page 4: "About the year 1680 young Penn found himself at the age of 36, with his father dead, and a debt due him from the Crown of £16,000 for services which his distinguished father had rendered . . . he applied to Charles II in 1681, and the debt of £16,000 was cancelled by a gift to Penn of

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Mr. Fisher refers to the second reason in his book already quoted from. He says, page 4: "About the year 1680 young Penn found hunself at the age of 30, with his father dead, and a debt due him from the Crown of the largest tract of territory that had ever been given in America to a single individual."

Thus William Penn became Proprietor of the Province of Pennsylvania, and under his wise administration the

colony grew apace.

At this time Philadelphia consisted of a few little cottages. Pastorius, in a letter referred to by General Carpenter, says that he several times lost himself in the woods travelling from the water side to the house of Cornellius Bun, the baker, which stood near the corner of Third and Chestnut Streets.

But by 1683, the year in which Carpenter arrived, a considerable stimulus had already set in. General Carpenter says in his book, page 11: "In this year, 1683, the emigration was very great: They came from England, Ireland, Wales, Holland and Germany. Penn said in his letter to Lord North: "Since last summer we have had about 60 sail great and small shipping which is a good beginning. All that came wanted a dwelling and hastened to provide one." It was at this period . . . that Samuel Carpenter came to Philadelphia. Possessed of considerable means he lost no time in securing for himself the desirable location which he afterwards occupied as his residence and business purposes."

Perhaps the most interesting facts concerning Samuel Carpenter are those having reference to his property, which was considerable and varied. Quoting again from General Carpenter's book: "From the time of his arrival in Pennsylvania, Samuel Carpenter was actively engaged not only in the multifarious transactions of his own private business, but also in the improvements of the town and in the affairs of government. Watson, in his Annals of Philadelphia, says: "The name of Samuel Carpenter is connected with everything of a public nature in the early annals of Philadelphia. I have seen his name at every turn in searching the old records. He was the Stephen Girard of his day for wealth and the William Sansom in the improvements he made and the edifices he built." His enterprising spirit, and desire to promote

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the growth and improvement of his adopted city led him beyond the increase of the population, so that the depreciation of his real estate, together with heavy losses incurred in trade brought about by the war of 1703, greatly embarrassed him and finally made it necessary for him to sell the property to liquidate his debts."

The following items of real estate are known to have

belonged to him (see Watson's Annals):

1. A large estate in and adjacent to the town of Bristol in Bucks County, Pa., with saw and grist mills and including most of the site of the present town of Bristol.

2. The slate roofed house at the S. E. Corner of 2nd

Street and Norris Alley (now Gothic Street).

3. Certain town lots on the North side of Market Street, Philadelphia, between Fifth and Sixth Streets, and reaching half way to Arch Street.

4. He was joint Proprietor with William Penn and

Caleb Pusey of a grist mill at Chester.

- 5. A lot of ground extending from the Delaware River to Second Street and from Walnut Street to Norris Alley.
  - 6. The mansion house in King Street, Crane, Bakery, ten warehouses, Globe Tavern and Long wharf.

7. One-half of a mill at Darby.

- 8. Five thousand acres of land in Poquessing Creek.
- 9. The Sepviva plantation, 380 acres, part of Fair Hill.
- 10. Twenty-one acres, Salem County, N. J.

11. Fifty acres in Camden.

- 12. Six hundred acres, Timber Creek, N. J.
- 13. Three-sixteenths of 5000 acres of land and Pickering's mine.

14. Coffee House at Fourth and Walnut Streets.

Perhaps the most interesting item of property contained in the above list is the often referred to "slate roofed house," built for Carpenter in 1698 by James Porteus. In General Carpenter's book we find the following reference to this house, taken from a manuscript of J. R. Carpenter, 1828. "It has always been known as the Slate House, from the circumstance of the roof having been covered with slate long before any other building in the infant

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city of Philadelphia had a similar covering. Its dimensions are about forty-five feet front by forty-five deep. It is of brick, two stories in height with large projecting eaves and a square turret at each of the four corners."

It was once occupied by William Penn as his residence. Samuel Carpenter finally sold this house at a considerable loss for £800 to William Trent, who founded the City of Trenton, N. J.

Coming down to the death of Samuel Carpenter, General Carpenter states that he died at the house of his son-in-law, William Fishbourn, at Sepviva planta-

tion, Philadelphia, on April 10, 1714.

In a letter to William Penn, dated 2 mo. 11th, 1714, James Logan says, in referring to his death: "We have now lost our dear friend, Samuel Carpenter. He departed last night about 11, at his daughter Fishbourn's, where he lodged when taken ill. He lay about twelve days ill of a violent rheumatism and fever, in great pain, but just before his departure he took leave of all his friends about him and went quietly away."

The Friends meeting, after his death, said of him: "He was a pattern of humility, patience and self denial; a man fearing God and hating covetousness, much given to hospitality and good work. He was loving, affectionate husband, tender father and a faithful friend and brother." (History of Philadelphia, by Scharf and

Westcott, Vol. 1, p. 159.)

His will and the inventory of his personal effects may be examined in the office of the Register of Wills for Philadelphia. The inventory contains one or two curious entries. His negro servants are appraised as follows: "One mann named Mingo £25, one old mann named Malagascar Jack, Sarah his wife and a little girl named Pegg and an old negro woman named Hager, past her labour altogether £25."

Samuel Carpenter left a numerous posterity, many of whom became distinguished in the affairs of both Province and State, and from whom many of our leading

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## Roger Williams,

PRESIDENT OF RHODE ISLAND, 1654-57.

BY SAMUEL DAVIS PAGE.

Read February 2, 1914.

My earliest impression of Roger Williams is perhaps shared by those who went to school in the middle forties of the last century. It was a picture in some descriptive geography or history of a man wending his weary way with his wife and numerous children, one at the breast, as an exile from the Massachusetts colony, seeking a resting place for the worn soles of his feet. Perhaps I might have learned little more of him had not the genealogical microbe of these latter days gotten into my system in common with that of many of my fellows, recalling to mind the charming story of Maryatt which delighted the days of our youth Japhet in search of his Father, when, to my surprise, I found myself indebted to the subject of this paper for my being, and it may be in some measure for certain characteristics a contribution to the ingredients derived from various sources constituting my individuality. I have faith in heredity, but not much in that school of eugenics which concerns itself only with the effect of vice on the body and recks not of its influence on the soul.

The picture of Roger Williams so indistinctly photographed on my memory was perhaps not more erroneous than that painted by the prejudice, the ignorance, the bigotry and the enmity of the earlier chroniclers of New England, who undertook to record the contest long continued between this champion of freedom of conscience and the compact cohorts of the defenders of the theocracy which the Puritan Fathers established in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, they being thoroughly impressed with the idea that ministers and church brethren were the infallible interpreters of God's will and all dis-

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My earliest impression of Roger Williams is perhaps shared by those who went to school in the middle forties of the last century. It was a picture in some descriptive geography or history of a man wending his weary way with his wife and numerous children, one at the breast, as an exile from the Massachusetts colony, seeking a resting place for the worn soles of his feet. Perhaps I might have learned little more of him had not the genealogical microbe of these latter days gotten into my system in common with that of many of my fellows, respecting to mind the charming story of Maryatt which delighted the days of our youth japhet in search of his father, when, to my surprise, I found myself indebted to the subject of this paper for my being, and it may be in some measure for certain characteristics a contribution to the ingredients derived from various sources contion to the ingredients derived from various sources contion to the ingredients derived from various sources continued in that school of engenics which concerns tiself only with the effect of vice on the body and recies not of its influence on the soul.

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senters were heretics and sinners, their people very easily acquiring the habit, which has not left them, of claiming for themselves all the virtues of the human race and relegating all the vices so inherent to those who were not of them or ventured to differ from them; as was clearly put to their descendants at a New England dinner where I heard Governor Pennypacker effectively prove this allegation by quotations from a work of so distinguished a writer as President Day, of Yale College, in the early part of the last century, giving in a book intended for the instruction of the young, just that idea claiming every cardinal virtue and every carnal beauty for the men and women of New England, and branding our Pennsylvania Germans as ignorant, lazy, vicious and ugly; a habit of self-laudation which they have hardly overcome even in our day, though some of their later writers are beginning to acknowledge this peculiar mental bias, Charles Francis Adams very frankly saying, in 1893, in his book on Massachusetts, its Historians and History:

"The trouble with historical writers who have taken upon themselves the defense of the founders of Massachusetts is that they have sophisticated away the facts."

These people had virtues and were undoubtedly instruments in the hands of Providence in the making of this, our land, of which we are all so proud, but the more we know of them the more we are apt to agree with Hawthorne when he says:

"Let us thank God for having given us such ancestors; and let each successive generation thank him not less fervently for being one step further from them in the march of ages."

I do not own any Puritan blood. My ancestor, Edmund Freeman, being one of the Pilgrims of Plymouth Colony and admitted to the rights of freemen therein; all my other New England ancestors having imbibed the

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principles and shared the fortunes of the subject of this sketch, those of his time co-operating with him in his darling project of securing a harborage for distressed consciences under charters from the commonwealth and the King. I trace my descent from Roger Williams in this way: his daughter Mary (called for her mother) was born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in August, 1633, and married John Sayles; their daughter, Deborah Sayles, married Caleb Carr; their daughter, Deborah Carr, married John Greene; their daughter, Anne Greene, married John Proud; their daughter, Deborah Proud, married James Davis; their son, Samuel Davis, married Maria Clarissa Vidal, of Louisiana, and their daughter. Celestine Anna Davis, married William Byrd Page, of Virginia, and became my mother September 22, 1840, almost two centuries after Mary Williams was born.

Roger Williams was born in London in 1607, and through the influence of Sir Edward Coke was inducted a scholar in Sutton's Hospital, afterwards called Charter House School, on June 25, 1621. He entered Pembroke College, Cambridge, England, in June, 1623, when he was about sixteen years old, and was graduated with a degree from that college in January, 1626.

After he left college he is said to have commenced the study of law under the guidance of his patron Sir Edward Coke, but he did not long pursue it, soon taking up instead the study of theology, which seems to have been more in accordance with the bent of his mind, judging from his own words: "From my childhood, now about three-score years, the Father of Lights and Mercies touched my soul with the love for himself, to his only begotten the true Lord Jesus, to his Holy Scriptures, etc." It is said that he took orders in the Church of England and had a benefice in Lincolnshire, but soon became what was called a Separatist.

He embarked at Bristol with his wife Mary, in the ship "Lyon", Captain Pierce, Master, December 1, 1630, and after a tedious and stormy voyage of sixty-five days, arrived at Nantasket, February 5, 1631, being so well

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received in the colony as a "godly minister" that he was, in a few months, elected to supply the Rev. John Wilson's place in his church at Boston, then called Shawmut, the incumbent being about to visit England for his health, but he declined the charge because the church was an "unseparated people." On April 12, 1631, he became the teacher of the church at Salem, across. the bay. He remained there only a short time, on account of what were called his "novel opinions," which were not as acceptable to the magistrates of the colony as they seemed to have been to the Salem church, the purposes of the church at Boston being to prevent Williams from being received by the church at Salem and at the same time through the church at Salem deprive him of the rights and liberties of a freeman, of which more anon.

At Plymouth, Governor Bradford writes he was freely entertained "according to our poor ability and he exercised his gift among us and after some time he was admitted a member of the church and his teaching well approved." Rev. Ralph Smith, the teacher of the church, was a rigid Separatist, and Williams' work under him must have been quite congenial. He remained two years at Plymouth supporting himself by manual labor and also engaging in trade, for which he seems to have had some ability. He there, and afterwards at Salem, acquired the Indian language, getting into very close touch and intimacy with these people and laying the foundation for a friendship with them based upon their confidence in him that was of most inestimable value to his fellow colonists, not only in Rhode Island, where he finally settled, but also to those of Plymouth and of the Bay as well.

Speaking of his intimacy with the Narragansetts, he wrote many years afterwards:

"God was pleased to give me a painful patient spirit to lodge with them in their filthy smoky holes (even while I lived at Plymouth and Salem) to gain their tongue." received in the colony as a "godly minister" that he was, in a few months, elected to supply the Rev John Wilson's place in his church at Boston, then called Shawmat, the incumbent being about to visit England for his health, but he declined the charge because the church was an "unseparated people." On April 12, 1631, he became the teacher of the church at Salem, across the bay. He remained there only a short time, on account of what were called his "novel opinions," which were not as acceptable to the magistrates of the colony as they seemed to have been to the Salem church, the purposes of the church at Boston being to prevent and at the same time through the church at Salem and at the same time through the church at Salem deprive him of the rights and liberties of a freeman, of which more anon.

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"God was pleased to give me a painful patient spirit to lodge with them in their fitting smoly holes (even while I lived at Plymouth and Salem) to gain their tongue." In August, 1633, he returned to Salem and became assistant to Mr. Skelton, whose health began to fail. Being now within the jurisdiction of the authorities of Massachusetts Bay he found himself in constant turmoil with them, they being ever ready to find a pretext to bring about a conflict with him on his contention for the inalienable right of private judgment and spiritual and intellectual liberty, he there, as at Plymouth, denying the rights of the magistrates to punish, for breaches of the Sabbath and other offenses against religion, which opinions the church at Plymouth even was hardly ready to sanction.

While at Plymouth he had written a letter to Governor Bradford, for his private information only, never intending, apparently, that it should be published, in which letter he had endeavored to show that the title of the Massachusetts Colony to its land was incomplete without payment to the Indians for it, contending that a grant from the Crown really conveyed no title, as it was presumptuous to claim "that Christian kings (so called) are vested with a right by virtue of their Christianity to take and give away the lands and countries of other men"; but as Williams offered to have his book burned and to give satisfaction of his intentions to the magistrates, the latter were willing to accept the offer, as perhaps they did not find the contents of the treatise as objectionable as they anticipated.

After a year, in August, 1634, Mr. Skelton died and Williams was invited to become the teacher of the church. The magistrates endeavored to prevent the church from ordaining him but, in spite of their efforts, he was chosen the teacher of the church, such conduct on the part of the Salem Church being considered a great "contempt of authority" and, undoubtedly, led to a great deal of the trouble which followed.

About this time Governor Endicott had ordered a cross to be cut out of the military colors as a relic of Popish superstition and his action was attributed to Williams' teaching as Williams had frequently preached against In August, 1633, he returned to Salem and became bring about a conflict with him on his contention for ing the rights of the magistrates to punish for breaches of the Sabbath and other offenses against religion, which

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the cross as a symbol of Popery, but the punishment for Endicott's act was very light, as they probably could see no connection between it and Williams, though he still lay under the vote of censure adopted by Governor Winthrop and his associates, December 27, 1633, for the treatise written while at Plymouth, questioning the Colonists' title to the lands.

In November, 1634, he was summoned to appear before the general court for again teaching "against the king's patent, and our great sin in claiming right thereby to this country, and for terming the churches of England anti-Christian," followed by a new accusation on April 8, 1635, that he had taught "that a magistrate ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerated man, for that we thereby have communion with a wicked man in the worship of God, and cause him to take the name of God in vain."

On July 8, 1635, he was called before the general court to answer these several allegations, in particular on four points:

"First, That the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table, otherwise than in such cases as did disturb the civil peace. Secondly, That he ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerated man. Thirdly, That a man ought not to pray with such, though wife and child, &c. Fourthly, That a man ought not to give thanks after sacrament, nor after meat, &c."

The ministers, having asked the advice of the magistrates, "professedly declared" that Williams should be banished from the colony because he maintained "that the civil magistrate might not intermeddle even to stop a church from heresy and apostasy," and advised that the churches should ask the magistrates to remove him. Of course, the main charge was based upon the two first specifications which struck directly at the system of government introduced by the Puritans, to understand which it is necessary to consider for a moment the origin

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of that settlement and its purposes, and its divergences in both from the settlement of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. The Pilgrim Fathers formed a separate church before they left Holland and they came to America that they might worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. They were much more liberal in their views than their neighbors in the Bay Colony, counselled moderation in the dealings with the Quakers and were never guilty of burning witches. The Massachusetts Colony which settled at Salem, Boston and the other towns on the Bay, though non-conformists, were not separated from the Established Church of England while in England and they hoped to work reform within the church; when they embarked to America they departed as members of the Church of England, but availing themselves of their position and strength, they determined to establish a commonwealth founded upon the ideas of Calvin, in part democratic and in part aristocratic, each part proposed to protect, strengthen and uphold the framework of the church, the basis being, not the town meeting, but the congregation, enacting, as early as 1631, "that for time to come no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the same." Of course, the church was dominated by the clergy as they alone could decide who should be members of it, resulting, as Hutchinson says:

"This must needs render the influence of the clergy very great; under the old constitution nobody could be proposed to the church for a member unless the minister allowed it; nobody could be admitted a freeman unless he was a member of the church."

Thus it will be seen that the temporal power got into the hands of the clergy and was held fast by them until the charter was wrested from them in 1684; such being the relation of the church and state in the Commonwealth of Saints. It was a church dominating the state, and the state was used by the church as an instrument to carry never guilty of burning witches. The Massachusetts Colony which settled at Salem, Boston and the other towns on the Bay, though non-conformists, were not separated from the Established Church of England to establish a commonwealth founded upon the ideas of Calvin, in part democratic and in part aristocratic, each freedom of this body politic but such as are members of

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Thus it will be seen that the temporal power got into the hands of the clergy and was held fast by them until the charter was wrested from them in 1654; such being the relation of the church and state in the Commonwealth of Saints. It was a church dominating the state, and the state was used by the church as an instrument to carry out its will, the religious aspect in every instance preponderating; every civil question having its religious bearing and every religious question having its civil bearing, producing a condition of things that was excused by their latest apologist, the Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D.D., in his work on Roger Williams, claiming that the company of Massachusetts Bay "was in its beginning, in point of fact, neither more nor less than a private corporation chartered by the government for fishing, real estate improvement and general commerce," constituting a plea which was not, however, made by the Fathers themselves or by the apologists of their age. Though they had themselves suffered soul oppression, they were content to rise no higher than the persecutor's plane. They assumed absolute power and authority over all within their jurisdiction, whipping, mutilating and banishing those who were bold enough to complain of them to their friends in England or the Council of the Company there. with the result that the ministers maintained that the civil authorities might inflict penalties for spiritual censures, they understanding and fearing that any such independence of conscience as advocated by Roger Williams would strike directly at the foundation of the theocratic government which they had adopted. the Puritan writers have sustained the position of their General Court and held Williams to be contentious and extreme in his opinions and guilty of creating dissensions without adequate cause among the brethren at Boston, contending as specified that Williams denied the power of the civil magistracy to punish for the violation of "the first table of the law," which consisted of the first four of the Ten Commandments, describing the duties toward God, while the second table consisting of the last six Commandments related to the duties which man owes to man.

Roger Williams, with courage and force, resisted this claim, holding that the civil authorities had no right to resume jurisdiction over matters embraced in the first table and could not inflict penalties for neglect of re-

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It unfortunately happened that just at that time the church at Salem had a petition before the same Court "for some land at Marblehead Neck which they did challenge as belonging to their town," which petition was refused by the Court until the Salem church should give satisfaction, "because they had chosen Mr. Williams their teacher while he had stood under question of authority, and offered contempt to the magistrates."

The Salem church then wrote to all the other churches of the colony at the instigation of Williams (the letter probably being dictated by him) rebuking the magistrates for their heinous sins and demanding that they be admonished therefor. This turned public sentiment against the Salem church, and the majority of that church refused to go with Roger Williams any further. The Salem church's letter to the other churches and Roger Williams' letter to the Salem church to persuade it to refuse communion with the other churches until Salem's wrongs were righted as to the claim to their land at Marblehead Neck were declared "full of anti-Christian pollution," and they summoned him again before the General Court in September, 1635. His own church now had him under question for the same causes,

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and he on his return home "refused communion with his own church."

On October 8, 1635, Williams finally appeared before the Court at New Town, now Cambridge, charged with having taught various doctrines subversive of the civil authority and having "writ letters defamatory both of the magistrates and the churches." He appeared before the Court facing the certainty of sentence against him, but he maintained his opinions. After argument for a whole day with the Rev. Thomas Hooker, who had been appointed to try and convince him, the Court, on the following day, October o, 1635, delivered its sentence, that he should "depart out of our jurisdiction within six weeks, all the ministers, save one, approving the sentence," as reported by Governor Winthrop, who adds, in his diary, from which I am quoting, that "his own church had him under question also for the same cause, and he, at his return home, refused communion with his own church, who openly disclaimed his errors and wrote an humble submission to the magistrates, acknowledging their fault in joining with Mr. Williams in that letter to the churches against them, etc.," thus leaving their teacher and pastor to his fate and hastening themselves to get under cover from the wrath of the self-appointed vicars of God on earth. Chief Justice Durfee, in his discourse at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the planting of Providence, on June 24, 1886, says:

"The future of Rhode Island, to some extent the future of the world, hangs suspended on the issue. Will he, like his church, worn out and desperate, blenching before the unknown, lose heart and yield? Never. He stands unshaken in the 'rockie strength' of his convictions. He is ready, 'not only to be bound and banished, but to die for them.' So hour after hour he argues unsubdued, till the sun sinks low and the weary court adjourns. On the morrow (Friday, October 9, 1635), still persisting in his glorious 'contumacy,' he is sentenced, the

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clergy, all save one, advising to be banished, or to adopt the apologetic and felicitous euphemism of his great adversary, John Cotton, 'enlarged' out of Massachusetts.''

He was permitted to remain in Salem until the following spring "provided he did not go about to draw others to his opinions," but as the people came to his house to hear him, he was, in January, 1636, cited again to Boston, for having violated his condition, which he declined to do, as by so doing he should hazard his life. This General Court at the time of the trial was made up of the governor, deputy governor and eight assistants and from twenty-five to twenty-six deputies in all, two or three chosen by the freemen of each town; John Haynes, of New Town, being governor; Richard Bellingham, deputy governor; the eight assistants being: John Winthrop, Atherton Hough, William Coddington, Simon Bradstreet, Thomas Dudley, Increase Nowell, John Humfrey, and Richard Dummer.

In a letter to Major Mason, written in 1670, Williams says that Governor Haynes pronounced the sentence of banishment, afterwards having left the Bay with his congregation and settled in Hartford, Connecticut, in June, 1636. Immediately thereafter, the magistrates, in order to rid themselves entirely of Williams and prevent his establishing an independent community "where all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God," sent a small sloop in charge of Captain Underhill to apprehend Williams and carry him on board a ship about to sail to England. Being forewarned of this attempt on the part of his persecutors, he left his wife and children three days before and steered his course for the Narragansett Indians, being, as he said "sorely tossed about for one fourteen weeks in a bitter winter season not knowing what bread or bed did mean," and landed at Manton's Neck, on Seekonk River, in April, 1636, and commenced to plant: but being advised by Governor Winslow that

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he was falling into the edge of their boundaries and that they feared trouble with the Bay on his account, he crossed the river and on June 1, 1636, settled at a point near the present St. John's church in Providence, Rhode Island, and founded the first settlement in Rhode Island, to which in remembrance of God's wonderful providence to him, he gave the name Providence. He and those with him bound themselves to subject themselves to the will of the majority "only in civil matters."

In 1638, he was immersed by Ezekial Holyman, an Anabaptist, with ten companions, and then in turn himself baptized Holyman. In March, 1639, he founded the Baptist church there, but left it within three or four months because he was not satisfied with its rigid requirements, and became what was called in New England a Seeker after Truth, the name given to one who was dissatisfied with any church and sought for more congenial views of the faith or a faith better adapted to their spiritual needs.

In all the agreements for the government of Providence, Portsmouth, Newport and Warwick, comprising what was afterwards in the charter called "the Providence Plantations of Narragansett Bay," there was careful discrimination made not to confound liberty of conscience with license in civil matters in contempt of law and order. Whatever might have been said by the opponents of Williams and those who were dissatisfied with the existence of a refuge for those oppressed in any quarter for their religious sentiments, where all the discontented and all dissatisfied with the restraints and control of government thereabout flocked; there should be no misunderstanding of the principles for which Roger Williams contended, in view of the provisions in the laws adopted as advocated by him, but particularly, of his letter, written in January, 1655, to the town of Providence answering the accusation that his principles were hostile to the civil peace which is both historic and classic and is known as the "Ship letter" wherein he says:

he was falling into the edge of their boundaries and that they feared trouble with the Bay on his account, he crossed the river and on June 1, 1656, settled at a point near the present St. John's church in Providence, Rhode Island, and founded the first settlement in Rhode Island, to which in remembrance of God's wonderful providence to him, he gave the name Providence. He and those with him bound themselves to subject themselves to the will of the majority "only in civil matters."

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"That ever I should speak or write a tittle that tends to such an infinite liberty of conscience, is a mistake, and which I have ever disclaimed and abhorred. To prevent such mistakes, I shall at present only propose this case: There goes many a ship to sea with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or a human combination or society. It hath fallen out sometimes, that both papists and protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked in one ship; upon which supposal I affirm, that all the liberty of conscience, that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges—that none of the papists, protestants, Jews or Turks, be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship, nor compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practice any. I further add that I never denied that, notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course, yea, and also command that justice, peace and sobriety be kept and practiced both among the seamen and all the passengers. If any of the seamen refuse to perform their services, or passengers pay their freight; if any refuse to help, in person or purse, towards the common charges or defense; if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace or preservation; if any shall mutiny and rise against their commanders and officers; if any should preach or write that there ought to be no commanders or 'officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters nor officers, no laws nor orders, nor corrections nor punishments:—I say, I never denied, but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits. This if seriously and honestly minded, may, if it so please the Father of lights, let in some light to such as willingly shut not their eyes."

"That ever I should speak or write a tittle that tends to such an infinite liberty of conscience, is a for, turns upon these two hinges-that none of the The ideas so presented by Roger Williams were particularly at variance with the theocratic representation of religious liberty by Puritan New England as may be seen from what the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, the lawyer-divine of Ipswich, who, in the Simple Cobler of Aggawam, says:

"That that will give Liberty of Conscience in matters of Religion, must give Liberty of Conscience and conversation in their Moral Laws, or else the fiddle will be out of tune and some of the strings crack. It is said, That Men ought to have Liberty of their Conscience, and that it is Persecution to debar them of it: I can stand amazed, then reply to this: It is an astonishment to think that the brains of men should be parboiled in such impious ignorance."

On May 19, 1643, the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven formed themselves into a union "for mutual help and strength in all future concernment," these colonies having a population of about 24,000; into which union the Province of Rhode Island wished to be received for protection against the Indians surrounding them on all sides. Rhode Island's request was refused, both in 1644 and 1648, the want of a charter being the excuse for exclusion at first, which was certainly only a pretext, for when they obtained their charter a short time afterewards, they were still excluded and continued to be so as long as the confederacy so formed lasted. The very existence of the Rhode Island colonies was the real reason for exclusion, because, of course, such existence was a menace to the theocratic institutions of the rest: Rhode Island having become from the first a refuge for all liberals and opponents of the theocracy, as well as, all fanatics and turbulent persons who might have been turned out or emigrated from other colonies, forming, of course, great obstacles to the organization of government. The confederacy so formed lasted until 1684 when it collapsed upon the revocation

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of the charter of Massachusetts, and with it, of course, the Puritan Theocracy. While it lasted it was a matter of anxious concern to the Rhode Island and Providence settlements, leaving them isolated and exposed to the Indian attacks.

One of my ancestors, Dr. John Greene, who was a resident of Providence, and closely associated with Roger Williams, in 1638 charged the Massachusetts Court with usurping the power of men's consciences, and in reply the Court decreed "that if any inhabitants of Providence Plantation came within the Bay's jurisdiction, they should be apprehended, and unless they adjured their opinions as to the rights and powers of the magistrates they should be compelled to go hence." The effect of this hostility induced the Rhode Island Providence colonists to ally themselves and seek a charter for their government from the Mother Country in order to protect themselves, and at an assembly in Newport, September 19, 1642, a committee was appointed to procure a charter under the guidance of Roger Williams. In the following Spring, Williams left his family and went to New York to take ship for England, not daring to do so from Boston as he was an outlaw from Massachusetts, and set sail in the month of June, 1643. On his arrival in London. England was in the midst of a civil war, the King having fled the country and the Long Parliament being then in session, which proved rather advantageous to Williams as Parliament was not in a position of course to antagonize the Provinces, the government of which was by ordinance of November 3, 1643, entrusted to the Earl of Warwick as Governor General and Lord High Admiral, with a Council composed of five peers and twelve commoners, among whom were Oliver Cromwell and the younger Vane, who was the early friend of Williams, having advocated in America, and after his return from there, the doctrines of religious toleration. Upon Williams' application, aided by the friendship and influence of Vane, these commissioners granted a charter as asked.

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under date of March 17, 1644, giving to the towns of Providence, Portsmouth and Newport, as the Providence Plantations of Narragansett Bay, "full power to rule themselves as they shall by their consent agree unto," the charter being remarkable for its many liberal provisions, probably just as prayed for by Roger Williams.

In the fall of 1644, he declined to act as governor of the colony though he was particularly active in the conduct of its affairs, and forgetting all the injury that had been done him by the Massachusetts Bay people, he, through his knowledge of the Indian language and the confidence of the Indians in him, averted an attack by the Narragansetts on the United Colonies and in all probability saved the English settlements along the coast from utter destruction.

In 1646 he removed from Providence to Warwick, Rhode Island, acquiring his land by purchase from the Indians, and was elected deputy president of the colony in 1649, and in November, 1651, went with Dr. John Clark to England to secure an amendment to the commission that had been obtained by William Coddington for the government of Rhode Island, under that name including Newport, Portsmouth and Connecticut, and secured a new and more explicit charter for "the Providence Plantations of Narragansett Bay", and in having Coddington's commission vacated.

Early in 1654 he returned to Providence, having in England enjoyed the friendship of Cromwell, Milton, Sir Harry Vane and General Harrison, and other prominent Puritans, supporting himself while there by teaching Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French and Dutch, employing, we are told, the conversational method of instruction.

At the first general election after the reorganization of the government under the new charter, three months after his return from England, Roger Williams was, on September 12, 1654, at Warwick, elected president with Thomas Harris, John Roome, Benedict Arnold and Ran-

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dall Holden as assistants for Providence, Portsmouth-Newport and Warwick respectively, and at the regular annual election held at Providence in May, 1655, he was re-elected president with the same general officers except Thomas Harris, whose place was taken by Thomas Olney as assistant for Providence.

In the Massachusetts Bay colony, no man could be a freeman who was not a member of the church, but in the Providence Plantations, while every resident was not a freeman, he could become such if proposed at one town meeting and might be admitted at the following, provided no valid objection had been made against him. The freemen of the colony only numbered, at that election, 247, of which number 42 were of Providence, Portsmouth 71, Newport 96, and Warwick 38, giving us, of course, no idea of the population of these several towns, only the probable proportion of it.

The unsettled condition of affairs in the colony, a reflection of the disturbances going on in England, being called to the attention of Cromwell, who was then the Protector, he addressed a letter to them exhorting them to take care of the peace and safety of the Plantations, that neither through any intestine commotions or foreign invasions there do arise any detriment or dishonor to this Commonwealth or yourselves as far as you, by your care and diligence, can prevent. This letter caused a special session of the assembly to be held at Portsmouth where they voted submission to the Protector's rule and passed a law that any persons who might be convicted as leaders of factions should be sent to England there to be tried and punished, the governor and assistants of Rhode Island being determined apparently to put into energetic operation the powers of government so as to quell the many factions and feuds which existed in the various towns regardless of law and order. The result was most satisfactory; Coddington signed a public declaration of his submission to the colony as now united and an agreement of settlement of the feud which had long existed between him and Williams.

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In 1656 the Ouakers arrived in New England, and their treatment by the people and government of Rhode Island was a strong contrast to the barbaric ferocity with which they were treated by the other colonies. While the Quakers were guilty of many acts of disorder induced by their own fanatical zeal, intensified by their cruel persecution; such as the action of Thomas Newhouse in breaking two glass bottles in the old South Meeting House during service, crying out before the astonished worshippers, "Thus will the Lord break you all to pieces;" or the action of Lydia Wardell in going through the aisles of the meeting house, while the congregation was in session, naked; or as Deborah Wilson, going through the streets in the same manner, all "to bear testimony;" yet none of these things would excuse the fining, imprisoning, branding, mutilating, whipping and hanging of these poor people. The United Colonies

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passed severe laws against the Quakers and tried to coerce Rhode Island to join in their persecution, which the General Assembly, held at Portsmouth March, 1657, definitely refused to do, a position they maintained to the end. For five years, during all this persecution, many of these people naturally took refuge in Rhode Island, which, of course, increased the hostility of the other colonies to those of Narragansett Bay. This policy, which began during Williams' presidency, was dictated and guided chiefly by him upon the principle of the maintenance of religious liberty, though the doctrines and practices of this sect were especially disapproved by Williams, as shown by his correspondence with George Fox during this period. Williams, during all these troublous times, as Straus says in his Roger Williams, "steered the ship of state with a firm hand and a wise head."

The church brethren's estimate of Roger Williams shows their lack of appreciation of the great principles to which he had consecrated his life; they recording, and their historians after them, that he was "an incorrigible offender and that the Boston Court was patient, lenient and long-enduring; that he was obstinate, wrongheaded and persistent in his purpose to disturb the peace and harmony of the colony," which perhaps might be explained by Williams' explanation of their conception of religious liberty in the following terms:

"Yourselves pretend liberty of conscience, but alas! it is but self, the great god self, only to yourselves."

Charles II entered London to occupy the throne on May 29, 1660, and as soon as the news of his restoration reached Rhode Island he was immediately proclaimed its King and a new commission was sent to Dr. Clarke, who had remained in London as the colony's agent, authorizing a continuance of his efforts to procure a new charter.

On July 8, 1663, the King granted a new charter to the colony, which was received with due formality and with

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demonstrations of great joy. Its provisions were most liberal, giving the colony the choice of every officer except the first governor and his assistants, who were, by the instrument, continued in office until the following May. The principles of the founders of the colony were embodied in the charter securing the most perfect freedom in matters of religion, giving to the inhabitants of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations unrestricted rights of conscience. The charter differed from any granted to any of the other colonies, both in its civil as well as in its religious guarantees. Rhode Island continued to be governed by it until 1843, a period of one hundred and eighty years and while under it adopted the Constitution of the United States, which was not in any wise incompatible with it, that itself showing the influence of that "lively experiment" begun by Roger Williams in that little outcast colony.

Williams continued for many years to participate in the administration of the affairs of the colony. He was elected assistant to the governor in 1664, 1667, 1670, but in 1677 he declined re-election presumably on account of his advanced age; during all this time officiating frequently in town affairs as moderator of its meetings, as manager of public improvements, as a member of committees to draft public letters and documents and to conduct negotiations with the Indians, trying at all times to make his people and his neighbors understand and appreciate the liberties with which they were blessed, as was shown in a letter to the Town of Providence, when proposing to divide up the common lands among the inhabitants not looking to the rights of those who came after them, in which he said:

"For all experience tells us that public peace and love is better than abundance of corn and cattle. I have one only motion and petition, which I earnestly pray the town to lay to heart, as ever they look for a blessing from God on the town, on your families, your corn and cattle, and your children after you; it is this, that after you have got over

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the black brook of some soul bondage yourselves, you tear not down the bridge after you, by leaving no small pittance for distressed souls that may come after you."

Which perhaps should be taken to heart today as well as then, we being apt to forget the spirit of our religion and the universal principles of justice and liberty underlying our American institutions, when considering some of the evils of the emigration from the Old World.

In the summer of 1675, the War of King Phillip spread terror and devastation to almost every settlement in New England and almost threatened the extermination of the colonies, Rhode Island even becoming involved in the struggle. Williams himself accepted the commission of captain of the militia and drilled companies in Providence, subscribing out of his own pocket the largest amount on the list for converting one of the houses into a garrison and for erecting defenses for the security of the women and children,. In the midst of these hostilities, at a conference with the Indian sachems one of them told him: "As for you, Brother Williams, you are a good man; you have been kind to us for many years; not a hair of your head shall be touched."

This war was brought to a close in August, 1676, by the death of Phillip, and perhaps the terror and loss of life produced might explain, but would not justify, the many acts of cruelty on the part of the whites and their consignment of the captives into slavery.

At the close of this war, Roger Williams' daughter, Mary, the eldest of his children, was about forty-three years of age, and the youngest, his son Joseph, about thirty-two.

On December 20, 1661, he made a deed of confirmation of land in Providence which had already been given to several of his friends, among others John Greene, Sr., and John Greene, Jr., two of my own ancestors. His son Daniel, in a letter written in 1710, indicates that

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There was never any portrait of Roger Williams and we know not how he looked but no one can deny that he appears as one of the most remarkable and picturesque persons in our early history, and he impresses us with his far-seeing wisdom and strength of character. As Straus says: of his personal traits, it is difficult to form any conception, we do not know whether he was tall or short of stature, stout or spare in frame. He must have had vigorous and robust health, otherwise he could not have endured the many hardships he had to undergo as an exile, a pioneer, and while among the Indians. Straus says of him:

"We call those great who have devoted their lives to some noble cause, and have thereby influenced for the better the course of events. Measured by that standard, Roger Williams deserves a high niche in the temple of fame, alongside of the greatest reformers who mark epochs in the world's history. He was not the first to discover the principles of religious liberty, but he was the first to proclaim them in all their plentitude, and to found and build up a political community with those principles as the basis of its organization."

Professor Gervinus in his Introduction to the History of the Nineteenth Century, says: his father gave away his lands and other assets to persons who were in need, so that in their old age both father and mother were dependent upon their children. The last public act of Williams was to sign a document settling a dispute as to boundaries between Providence lands and those adjacent bearing date January 16, 1683, and his death must have occurred before May 16, 1684, as a letter of that date, by John Thornton to Rev. Samuel Hubbard, speaks of it as having lately happened; his remains were interred in a spot which he had selected on his own had not far from the place where he had first landed forty-seven years before, he being then had first landed forty-seven years before, he being then

There was never any portrait of Roger Williams and we know not how he looked but no one can deny that he appears as one of the most remarkable and picturesque persons in our early history, and he impresses us with his far-seeing wisdom and strength of character. As Straus sayst of his personal traits, it is difficult to form any conception, we do not know whether he was tall or short of stature, stout or spare in frame. He must have had vigorous and robust health, otherwise he could not have endured the many hardships he had to undergo as an exile, a pioneer, and while among the Indians. Straus says of him:

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Professor Gervinus in his Introduction to the History of the Nincteenth Century, says:

"Roger Williams founded in 1636 a small new society in Rhode Island, upon the principles of entire liberty of conscience, and the uncontrolled power of the majority in secular affairs. The theories of freedom in Church and State, taught in the schools of philosophy in Europe, were here brought into practice in the government of a small community. It was prophesied that the democratic attempts to obtain universal suffrage, a general elective franchise, annual parliaments, entire religious freedom, and the Miltonian right of schism would be of short duration. But these institutions have not only maintained themselves here, but have spread over the whole Union. They have superseded the aristocratic commencements of Carolina and of New York, the high-church party in Virginia, the theocracy in Massachusetts, and the monarch throughout America; they have given laws to one-quarter of the globe, and, dreaded for their moral influence, they stand in the background of every democratic struggle in Europe."

In the *Universal Cyclopedia*, Vol. 12, page 456, E. Benjamin Andrews closes the article on Roger Williams in these words:

"What immortalizes Roger Williams and gives him a high place among the greatest characters of history is that, in spite of towering difficulties, he founded a state—the first in history—which was creedless itself, while welcoming and protecting all creeds whatsoever, thus giving to the principle of separation between Church and State that lodgment in American public law which led later to its adoption into the national Constitution."

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## Sir George Peardley,

GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, 1619-1621, 1626-1627.

By Joseph Ingersoll Doran.

Read April 6, 1914.

The story of Sir George Yeardley's career gives an extensive insight into the history of England during the period in which he lived. The relations of that country to the Netherlands and to Spain, the daring and skill required to confront the perils incident to the navigation of the seas, the hostile attitude of Spain towards other nations attempting to establish colonies in or to trade with America, and the heroic and persistent efforts to plant English colonies in the New World with the fundamental principles of English thought and English principles of government are all brought into full view in any account of Sir George Yeardley.

The men of those times were of the era that gave us Shakespeare, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh and the others of those days who have left the impress of their thoughts and actions upon the Anglo-Saxon race.\*

Sir George Yeardley was born between 1577 and 1580.

He was the son of Raph Yardley, of Bionshaw Lane, London, who married, first, May 15, 1575, Agnes Abbot; she died December 18, 1576, and he married, secondly, Rhoda ———. He had four sons, Raphe, George, John and Thomas, and a daughter, Anne, who married Edward Irby.†

Sir George Yeardley was first cousin to Richard Yerwood, one of the stepfathers of John Harvard, the founder

of Harvard College, Massachusetts.;

He was "a soldier truly bred in that university of Warre, the Lowe Countries." At the age of 29 or 32 he sailed in June, 1609, on his first voyage to Virginia in the ship

<sup>\*</sup> Brown's Genesis of the United States, Vol. II, page 1065. † Ibid., page 1065.

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"Sea Adventure," one of the fleet of nine vessels under Sir George Somers. On that voyage he accompanied Sir Thomas Gates as "Captain of Sir Thomas Gates his company."\*

The company, under the command of Captain Yeardley, was Sir Thomas Gates' own company, which he brought from the Netherlands under the command of his Lieut. Capt. George Yeardley.†

"In his younger days, a soldier by profession, he had, like his contemporaries in the Virginia government, Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale, fought with distinction in the low countries."

The fleet, which consisted of the "Sea Adventure" and eight other ships, set sail from England for Virginia in June, 1609, "with the better part of 500 people—men, women and children"—and his fleet was the first fleet set out under the first Company charter.§

Brown says, the fleet sailed from Falmouth, England, on the 18th of June. In the letter of Captain Gabrill Archer, in Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, Vol. 1, xciv, it is stated that the fleet sailed from Falmouth on the 8th day of June. Fiske says that the fleet set sail on June 1st, but he does not say from what port. He, no doubt, had in mind Plymouth, where the fleet had been before it was compelled by adverse winds to stop at Falmouth.

The "Sea Adventure" was the Admiral vessel of the fleet. In the "Sea Adventure" were Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Captain Newport, "Captain George Yeardley, who commandeth the Lieut. General's Company," and all other chief officers, and from 150 to 180 emigrants.

<sup>\*</sup> Brown's Genesis, Vol. II, page 1065.

<sup>†</sup> Brown's First Republic, page 127.

<sup>‡</sup> Farrar Papers, Virginia Historical Magazine, Vol. 10, page 283.

<sup>§</sup> Brown's First Republic, pages 92, 93, 97; Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, Vol. I, xciv-xcvi; John Fiske, Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, Vol. I, page 148.

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On March 5th, 1609, Zuniga, the Spanish Ambassador at London, wrote the King of Spain advising him of the preparation of this fleet for Virginia and that it would sail within a month, or a month and a half; and he urged "Your Majesty will demand that they should be destroyed."\*

When you read in Zuniga's letter of October 16th, 1607, to the King of Spain with regard to the English coloniza-

tion of Virginia:

"It will be serving God and your Majesty to drive these villains out from there, hanging them in time which is short enough for the purpose.";

And that in his letter to the King of Spain of March 28th, 1608, about plans to send more English people to Virginia "on which account it seems to me necessary to intercept them on the way.":

It is readily understood what he meant by "they should

be destroyed," in his letter of March 5th, 1609.

While those who sailed in this fleet could not have known of the correspondence between Zuniga and the King of Spain, they did know of the hostile and menacing attitude of Spain toward other nations in efforts to make colonial settlements in the New World, or to trade in any part of the New World, and toward the vessels of other nations going to Spanish or other settlements in the New World.

They knew that the terrible Spaniard Menendez had in September, 1565, butchered the whole company of Huguenots—men, women and children—about 700 in all, who had established an innocent settlement at the mouth of the

St. John's River, in Florida.§

They also knew that in November, 1606, Captain Challons, who had sailed from Plymouth in August, 1606, in his ship "The Richard of Plymouth," to trade and obtain a footing in Virginia, had been taken, with his vessel, cargo,

<sup>\*</sup> Brown's Genesis, pages 243, 245.

<sup>†</sup> Ibid., page 124.

<sup>‡</sup> Ibid., page 147.

<sup>§</sup> John Fiske, Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, Vol. I, page 18; Article "Florida," Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Ed., Vol. 10, page 544.

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<sup>\*</sup> Brown's Genevis, pages 243, 245,

and crew, by the Spaniards in the West Indies, and that the crew that had not escaped from Spain had been sent to the galleys.\*

Bruce tells us:

"The site of Jamestown was chosen principally because it offered many advantages in resisting an assault, should one be made; and the determination to maintain a fort at Point Comfort, which, as we have seen, continued so long, had its origin in the impression that a fortification on this spot would, by commanding the channel, bar the further progress up the river of any hostile vessel seeking to pass. It was for many years confidently expected that such a fortification here would insure the absolute security of the plantations lying above. Before the fort was finished, it was the Spanish nation that the people dreaded the most, for it was well-known to all that that nation, claiming the whole of Virginia, had in menacing language protested against its colonization by the English. Apprehension lurked in the first settlers' minds lest the horrible massacre by which a Spanish army had destroyed the Huguenots seated at Fort Caroline in Florida should be repeated at any hour on the banks of the Powhatan. On several occasions, alarm was raised at Jamestown that Spanish ships were actually coming up the river; and, indeed, during those early years, the first sight of a sail glimmering remotely on the bosom of the stream as it expanded towards the South caused exclamations of doubt, suspicion, and fear among the spectators. Every man was ready to spring to arms, should it be announced from a lookout that a Spanish vessel was really approaching."†

Those in command of and all others in the first fleet of nine vessels sent out in June, 1609, under the first company charter knew well that they were liable to a hostile attack from the Spaniards, and they also well knew what their fates would be should they be unable to defend themselves

<sup>\*</sup> Brown's Genesis, pages 64, 95-101, 121, 122, 127, 131-134, 137, 148, 183, 758, 830.

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against any such attack from the Spaniards either on the high seas or at Jamestown.

"In the beginning of the seventeenth century it was not likely that a single man-of-war would be found even a hundred leagues from the coasts of the British Islands. The vessels, half-merchantman, half-privateer, which were the terror of the Spanish authorities in the American seas, never thought of asking for the protection of the navy. They were perfectly well able to take care of themselves. The only question, therefore, which the English Government had to consider was, whether they should continue the war in Europe in order to force the King of Spain to recognize the right of these adventurers to trade within certain limits, or whether the war was from henceforth to be carried on in one hemisphere alone. If Spain insisted that there should be no peace beyond the line (i. e., the line beyond which all lands had been given by the Pope to the King of Spain), it would be better to leave her to reap the fruits of a policy which before long would give birth to the buccaneers."\*

The merchantman was a more or less armed vessel prepared alike for aggression or defense. Ships sailed in fleets, one or more of their masters being appointed admirals, to be obeyed by all the company. In time of special maritime disturbance an armed fleet convoyed the merchantmen.†

The colony was established under the business management of Sir Thomas Smythe and other leading men of affairs of that day, who were then spreading the power of the Anglo-Saxon to the uttermost parts of the known world. The necessary means for carrying on the enterprise were contributed by "a greater union of Nobles and Commons than ever conferred in the Kingdom to such an undertaking;" the voyages were under the command of old sailors who had learned the Atlantic in the

<sup>\*</sup> Gardiner's History of England (1603-1607), Vol. I, page 212.

<sup>†</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Ed., Article "Shipping," Vol. 24, pages 983, 984, Article "Convoy," Vol. 7, page 68.

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days of Elizabeth; the colony was under the government of old soldiers trained up in the Netherlands; and the planters were largely of the restless, pushing material of which the pathfinders of the world have ever been made.\*

The fleet followed the usual ocean route of those days from Europe to Virginia, first running south by the Azores to the Canary Islands and thence from the Canaries west with the trade winds across the ocean to the West Indies.

"It is the same route by which the same vessels under competent commanders would now sail."

"Later vessels came directly across the ocean to New England without following this southern track. It took about the same time to cross on the northern route."

The Sea Adventure, the Admiral vessel of the fleet, was of 200 tons.¶

And it must have been the largest vessel in the fleet, as it carried all the chief officers and from 150 to 180 emigrants, while the entire fleet of nine vessels did not carry more than 500 persons, the average for each of the nine vessels being about 55 persons.

In Brown's First Republic, he gives the names of 115 ships making voyages to and from the colonies. Of these 115 ships he gives the tonnage of 46, the average tonnage of which is 121 tons.

In the Records of the Virginia Company, Vol. I, page 351, there is a note of the shipping, men and provisions some adventurers during the year 1619. In this note are the names and tonnages of 10 ships, the average tonnage

<sup>\*</sup> Brown's First Republic in America, Preface, page xix.

<sup>†</sup> Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, Vol. I, page xciv; V, 90: Brown's First Republic, pages 21, 22, 23, 24; Clark's Virginia, Colonial Churches, page 15; History of North America, Peter Joseph Hamilton, page 47; John Fiske's Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, Vol. I, page 91; History of All Nations, Fiske's Colonization of the New World, Lea Bros. & Co., Vol. 21, pages 245, 246; Sir Walter Raleigh and his Colony in America, Tarbox, 109.

<sup>‡</sup> Brown's First Republic, page 24.

<sup>§</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh and his Colony in America, Tarbox, Note 76, page 109.

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sent to Virginia by the Treasurer of the Company or by of which is 194 tons. These 10 ships carried 961 persons.

The nominal strength of the Spanish Armada was 132 vessels of 59,100 tons, the largest of which was 1300 tons. There were 30 under 100 tons. The average tonnage of each was less than 450 tons. The total tonnage of all was less than 8000 tons in excess of that of the Imperator of today of 52,000 tons, and less than 2000 tons in excess of the Vaterland of to-day of 58,000 tons. The English fleet meeting the Armada consisted of 197 vessels, the majority of which were very small and of which 34, less than 20%, belonged to the Royal Navy, and of which armed merchant ships practically made up the remainder of more than 80%.\*

Froude, referring to the English fleet which met the Spanish Armada, says:

"The largest ship in England at this time belonging to a private owner did not exceed 400 tons, and of vessels of that size there were not more than two or three sailing from any port in the country. The armed crusiers which had won so distinguished a name in both hemispheres were of the dimensions of the present schooner yachts in the Cowes squadron.";

On the other hand, ships sailing from Virginia to the West Indies had a hard time in beating their way against wind and current, so that the route to England from the English settlements in America must have been by the Gulf Stream.

The Gulf Stream was the route of Spanish fleets on their return from the Indies to the Kingdoms of Castile, and the fleets of Spain were constantly sailing from her American possessions via the Gulf Stream off the coast of Virginia.§

On the map opposite page 86, Vol. 1st, of Johnson's Swedish Settlement on the Delaware, entitled "Swedish

<sup>\*</sup> Article "Ship," Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Ed., Vol. XXIV, page 866; Article "Armada," Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Ed., Vol. II, page 560.

<sup>†</sup> Froude's History of England, Chap. XXXVI, Vol. 12, Am. Ed. 1873, page 449.

Brown's First Republic, 110, 111, 112. § Ibid., 87, 111, 154.

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The name of "Gulf Stream" was first suggested by Benjamin Franklin, and he published the first chart of the Gulf Stream.

"The whalers of New England were the first to gain a fairly accurate knowledge of the limits of the stream between Europe and America by following the haunts of the whales, which were found north of one line and south of another, but never between the two.

"Benjamin Franklin heard of their experiences, and also how the coasting vessels from Boston to Charleston, South Carolina, would take sometimes three or four weeks to make the voyage south, while the return trip would often be made in a week. Then his attention was drawn to the fact that English packets with American mails were two or three weeks longer on the voyage to America than American merchant ships.

"Franklin investigated the question and published a chart in 1770 for the benefit of the mail packets, but its information was discredited by the English, and before it came to be generally known and used, the War of the Revolution was on, and Franklin, knowing the advantage of the knowledge of the limits of the stream would be to British naval officers, suppressed it all he could until hostilities ceased.

"The name of 'Gulf Stream' was first suggested by Benjamin Franklin because it issues from the Gulf of Mexico. While it is only a part of the grand scheme of ocean circulation, and the Gulf of Mexico is in in reality only a stopping place, as it were, for its waters, this name is generally applied to the current now as it was given by Franklin—that is, the current coming from the Gulf of Mexico and spreading abroad over the North Atlantic."

See article "The Gulf Stream," by John Elliott Pillsbury,

Colonies 1638-1663, and Routes from Sweden to New Sweden, 1637-1656," the ocean route from Sweden is shown via the Azores or the Canary Islands to the Barbadoes or Antigua, thence to Cape May, and the ocean route from Cape May is shown to the Azores, thence to Sweden, i.e., via the Gull Stream.

The name of "Gulf Stream" was first suggested by Benjamin Franklin, and he published the first chart of the Gulf

Stream.

"The whalers of New England were the first to gain a fairly accurate knowledge of the limits of the stream between Europe and America by following the haunts of the whales, which were found north of one line and south of

molher, but never between the two

"Benjamin Franklin heard of their experiences, and also how the coasting vessels from Boston to Charleston, South Carolina, would take sometimes three or four weeks to make the voyage south, while the return trip would often be made in a week. Then his artention was drawn to the fact that English packets with American mails were two or three weeks longer on the voyage to America than American merchant ships.

"Franklin investigated the question and published a chart in 1770 for the benefit of the mail packets, but its information was discredited by the English, and before it came to be generally known and used, the War of the Revolution was on, and Franklin, knowing the advantage of the knowledge of the limits of the stream would be to British naval

officers, suppressed it all he could until hostilities ceased.

"The name of 'Gulf Stream' was first suggested by Benjamin Franklin because it issues from the Gulf of Mexico. While it is only a part of the grand scheme of ocean circulation, and the Gulf of Mexico is in in reality only a stopping place, as it were, for its waters, this name is generally applied to the current now as it was given by Franklin—that is, the current coming from the Gulf of Mexico and spreading abroad over the North Atlantic."

See article "The Gulf Stream," by John Elliott Pillsbury,

U. S. N., *National Geographic Magazine*, August, 1912, Vol. 23, pages 767-778 and "Outline Map showing general direction of the Gulf Stream and other currents in the North Atlantic Ocean," on page 772.\*

The Sea Adventure in that voyage was, toward the end of July, 1609, "Wrecked on the Bermudas in the storm which gave Shakespeare the basis of his 'Tempest,' and for ten months the shipwrecked crews and passengers were detained on the Island." The survivors having succeeded in constructing two seaworthy craft which they called the "Deliverance" and the "Patience," sailed for Virginia in May, 1610.

Yeardley, on the Deliverance, arrived at Jamestown on June 2d, 1610 (N. S.).†

At the time of the wreck of the Sea Adventure the Bermudas were uninhabited, and one of the interesting results of the wreck was the practical discovery and the annexation to the crown of England of the Bermudas.‡

"The company sent out promptly enough in 1609 an expedition of nine ships and five hundred people under Sir George Somers and Sir Thomas Gates, with Newport in charge of the fleet. Unfortunately, this was dispersed by the tempest, and the Sea Adventure, bearing the new rulers, was wrecked in the Bermudas; and as none of those who actually arrived in Virginia had a commission to succeed Smith, things drifted along with no legal head. An interesting, if incidental, result of the wreck was the discovery and practical annexation of the Bermudas to the crown of England. They were henceforward long known as Somers Islands, and sometimes by mistake spelled 'Summer' Islands. The English found there hogs running wild, and thus subsisted despite the loss of so

<sup>\*</sup> Chart of the Atlantic Ocean, exhibiting the course of the Gulf Stream, etc., Posthumous Works of Franklin, London, 1819, Vol. II, pages 476-477; Maury's Physical Geography of the Sea, 1st Ed., 1855, pages 59-64.

<sup>†</sup> Hotten's Lists, page 222; Farrar Papers, Virginia Historical Magazine, Vol. X, page 283; "The Tempest"—The Variorum Shakespeare—Furness, page 308, &c.

<sup>†</sup> History of North America, Vol. III, by Peter Joseph Hamilton, pages 53, 73, 74; Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, Fiske, Vol. I, pages 148-155; Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Ed., "Bermudas," Vol. III, page 793.

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much, and managed finally to construct out of the wreckage two vessels that brought them safely to Virginia. This storm was the origin of Shakespeare's play The Tempest, performed a year or so after; for although the plot is Italian, Ariel and Caliban are fair samples of what the mariners of that day expected to find in unknown islands like 'the still vexed Bermoothes.' In fact, Caliban is about what the Caribs were pictured, for from that tropical region the name was taken, while the god Setebos comes from Patagonia.

"Captain John Smith had returned to England, and Captain George Percy was the president of the Council and in general command when Gates and Somers arrived in Virginia on June 2nd, 1610 (N.S.), the first anniversary of the signing of the charter under which they had come to act. Sir Thomas Gates, with a copy of the charter and his commission, went to the church, and by ringing the bell assembled the planters. The minister, the Rev. Richard Buck, offered a prayer; and after service Secretary William Strachey read the new commission, whereupon Percy surrendered the old one, the charter, and the seal. There were sixty old inhabitants present and one hundred and thirty-five new ones, among them non-conformists as well as members of the Church of England, including Stephen Hopkins; afterward one of the Pilgrim Fathers. The soldiers on guard were a company of veterans trained in the Netherlands, for Gates had certainly served under Maurice of Nassau and may have done so under his father. William the Silent, and was even at this time still in the service of the States General, and only lent or furloughed by them for this enterprise on the special request of King James. assumed active charge, erected Forts Henry and Charles in honor of the two princes, at the mouth of the river, and proceeded to make laws suited to the circumstances, setting them up on posts in the church."\*

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"On the first of June, 1609, the fleet set sail and took the route by the Azores. Toward the end of July, as they were getting within a week's sail of the American coast, the ships were 'caught in the tail of a hurricane,' one of them was sunk, and the Sea Venture was separated from all the rest. That gallant ship was sorely shaken and torn, so that for five days the crew toiled steadily in relays, pumping and bailing, while the water seemed to be gaining upon them. Many of the passengers abandoned themselves to despair and to rum, or, as an eye-witness tells us, 'some of them, having good and comfortable waters in the ship, fetched them and drank one to the other, taking their last leave one of the other until their more joyful and happy meeting in a more blessed world' (Plain Description of the Bermudas, page 10; apud Force, vol. iii.). The company were saved by the skill and energy of the veteran Somers, who for three days and nights never once left the quarter-deck. At length land was sighted, and presently the Sea Venture was driven violently aground and wedged immovable between two rocks, a shattered wreck. But all her people, a hundred and fifty or so, were saved, and most of their gear was brought away.

"The island on which they were wrecked was one of a group the early history of which is shrouded in strange mystery. If my own solution of an obscure problem is to be trusted, these islands had once a fierce cannibal population, whose first white visitors, Vincent Pinzon and Americus Vespucius, landed among them on St. Bernard's day in August, 1498, and carried off more than 200 slaves (See my Discovery of America, ii. 59). Hence the place was called St. Bernard's archipelago, but on crudely glimmering maps went wide astray and soon lost its identity. In 1522 a Spanish captain, Juan Bermudez, happened to land there and his name has remained. But in the intervening years Spanish slave-hunters from San Domingo had infested those islands and reaped and gleaned the harvest of heathen flesh till no more was to be had. The ruthless cannibals were extirpated by the more ruthless seek"On the first of June, 1609, the fleet set sail and took the route by the Azores. Toward the end of July, as they were getting within a week's sail of the American coast, the ships were 'caught in the tail of a harricane,' one of them was sunk, and the Sea Venture was separated from all the rest, sunk, and the Sea Venture was separated from all the rest, fint gallant ship was sorely shaken and torn, so that for five days the crew toiled steadily in relays, pumping and bailing, while the water seemed to be gaining upon them. Many of the passengers abandoned themselves to despair and to rum, or, as an eye-witness tells us, 'some of them, having good and comfortable waters in the ship, fetched them and drank one to the other, taking their last leave one of the other until their more joytul and happy meeting in a more blessed world' (Plain Description of the Bermudas, page 10; apud Force, vol. iii.). The company were saved by the skili and energy of the veteran Somers, who for three days and nights never once left the quarter-deck. At length days and mights never once left the quarter-deck. At length driven violently aground and wedged immovable between two rocks, a shattered wreck. But all her people, a hundred and fifty or so, were saved, and most of their gear was brought away.

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ers for gold, and when Bermudez stopped there he found no human inhabitants, but only swine running wild, a sure witness to the recent presence of Europeans. for nearly a century the unvisited spot was haunted by the echoes of a frightful past, wild traditions of ghoulish orgies and infernal strife. But the kidnapper's work in which these vague notions originated was so soon forgotten that when the Sea Venture was wrecked those islands were believed to have been from time immemorial uninhabited. Sailors shunned them as a scene of abominable sorceries, and called them the Isles of Demons. Otherwise they were known simply by the Spanish skipper's name as the Bermoothes, afterward more completely anglicized into Bermudas. From the soil of those foul goblin legends, that shuddering reminiscence of inexpiable crime, the potent sorcery of genius has reared one of the most exquisitely beautiful, ethereally delicate works of human fancy that the world has ever seen. The wreck of the Sea Venture suggested to Shakespeare many hints for the Tempest, which was written within the next two years and performed before the King in 1611. It is not that these islands were conceived as the scene of the comedy; the command to Ariel to go and "fetch dew from the still-yexed Bermoothes" seems enough to show that Prospero's enchanted isle was elsewhere, doubtless in some fairy universe hard by the Mediterranean. But from the general conception of monsters of the isle down to such incidents as the flashing light on the shrouds of the ship, it is clear that Shakespeare made use of Strachey's narrative of the wreck of the Sea Venture, published in 1610.

"Gates and Somers found the Isles of Demons far pleasanter than their reputation, and it was well for them that it was so, for they were obliged to stay there nearly ten months, while with timber freshly cut and with bolts and beams from the wreck the party built two pinnaces which they named Patience and Deliverance. They laid in ample stores of salted pork and fish, traversed the 700

ers for gold, and when Bermudez stopped there he found

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miles of ocean in a fortnight, and arrived at Jamestown on the 10th of May, 1610. The spectacle that greeted them was enough to have appalled the stoutest heart. To explain it in a few words, we must go back to August, 1609, when the seven ships that had weathered the storm arrived in Virginia and landed their 300 or more passengers, known in history as the Third Supply.

"Since the new dignitaries and all their official documents were in the Bermuda wreck, there was no one among the new-comers in Virginia competent to succeed Smith in the government, but the mischief-makers, Ratcliffe and Archer, were unfortunately among them, and the former instantly called upon Smith to abdicate in his favor. He had persuaded many of the newcomers to support him, but the old settlers were loyal to Smith, and there was much confusion until the latter arrested Ratcliffe as a disturber of the peace. The quality of the new emigation was far inferior to the older. The older settlers were mostly gentlemen of character; of the new ones far too many were shiftless vagabonds, or, as Smith says, 'unruly gallants, packed thither by their friends to escape ill destinies.' They were sure to make trouble, but for a while Smith held them in check. The end of his stay in Virginia, was, however, approaching. He was determined to find some better site for a colony than the low marshy Jamestown; so in September he sailed up to the Indian village called Powhatan and bought of the natives a tract of land in that neighborhood near to where Richmond now stands,—a range of hills, salubrious and defensible, with so fair a landscape that Smith called the place Nonesuch. On the way back to Jamestown a bag of gunpowder in his boat exploded and wounded him so badly that he was completely disabled. The case demanded such surgery as Virginia could not furnish, and as the ships were sailing for England early in October he went in one of them. He seems also to have welcomed this opportunity of answering sundry charges brought against him by the Ratcliffe faction. miles of ocean in a fortnight, and arrived at Jamestown on the 10th of May, 1610. The spectacle that greeted them was enough to have appalled the stoutest heart. To explain it in a few words, we must go back to August, 1600, when the seven ships that had weathered the storm arrived in Virginia and landed their 300 or more

Some flying squirrels were sent home to amuse King James (Neill's Virginia Company, page 32).

"The arrival of the ships in England with news of the disappearance of the Sea Venture and the danger of anarchy in Virginia alarmed Lord Delaware, and he resolved to go as soon as possible and take command of his colony. About the first of April he set sail with about 150 persons, mostly mechanics. He had need to make all haste. Jamestown had become a pandemonium. left George Percy in command, but that excellent gentleman was in poor health and unable to exert much authority. There were now 500 mouths to be filled, and the stores of food diminished with portentous rapidity. The 'unruly gallants' got into trouble with the Indians, who soon responded after their manner. They slaughtered the settlers' hogs for their own benefit, and they murdered the settlers themselves when opportunity was offered. worthless Ratcliffe and thirty of his men were slain at one fell swoop while they were at the Paumunkey village, trading with The Powhatan (See Spelman's account of the affair, in Smith's Works, pp. cii-cv.). As the frosts and snows came more shelter was needed than the cabins already built could furnish. Many died of the cold. The approach of Spring saw the last supplies of food consumed, and famine began to claim its victims. Soon there came to be more houses than occupants, and as fast as one was emptied by death it was torn down for firewood. Even palisades were stripped from their framework and thrown into the blaze, for cold was a nearer foe than the red men. The latter watched the course of events with savage glee, and now and then, lurking in the neighborhood, shot flights of arrows tipped with death. A gang of men stole one of the pinnaces, armed her heavily, and ran out to sea, to help themselves by piracy. After the last basket of corn had been devoured, people lived for a while on roots and herbs, after which they had recourse to cannibalism. The corpse of a slain Indian was boiled and eaten. Then the starving company began

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"When Smith left the colony in October, it numbered about 500 souls. When Gates and Somers and Newport arrived from the Bermudas in May, they found a haggard remnant of 60 all told, men, women, and children scarcely able to totter about the ruined village, and with the gleam of madness in their eyes. The pinnaces brought food for their relief, but with things in such a state there was no use in trying to get through the Summer. The provisions in store would not last a month. The three brave captains consulted together and decided with tears in their eyes, that Virginia must be abandoned, Since Raleigh first began, every attempt had ended in miserable failure, and this last calamity was the most crushing of all. What hope could there be that North America would ever be colonized? What men could endure more than had been endured already? It was decided to go up to the Newfoundland fishing stations and get fish there, and then cross to England. On Thursday the 7th of June, 1610, to the funereal roll of drums, the cabins were stripped of such things as could be carried away, and the doleful company went aboard the pinnaces, weighed anchor, and started down the river. As the arching trees at Jamestown receded from the view and the sombre silence of the forest settled over the deserted spot, it seemed indeed that "earth's paradise," Virginia, the object of so much longing, the scene of so much fruitless striving, was at last abandoned to its native Indians. But it had been otherwise decreed. That night a halt was made at Mulberry Island, and next morning the

cooking their own dead. One man killed his wife and salted her, and had eaten a considerable part of her body before he was found out. This was too much for people to endure; the man was tied to a stake and burned alive. Such were the goings on in that awful time to which men long afterward alluded as the Starving Time. No wonder that one poor wretch, crazed with agony, cast his Bible into the fire, crying 'Alas, there is no God.'

about 500 souls. When Gates and Somers and Newport scarcely able to totter about the ruined village, and with the cleam of madness in their eyes. The pinnaces voyage was resumed. Toward noonday, as the little ships were speeding their way down the ever widening river, a black speck was seen far below on the broad waters of Hampton Roads, and every eye was strained. It was no red man's canoe. It was a longboat. Yes, Heaven be praised! the governor's own longboat with a message. His three well-stocked ships had passed Point Comfort, and he himself was with them!

"Despair gave place to exultant hope, words of gratitude and congratulations were exchanged, and the prows were turned up-stream. On Sunday the three staunch captains stood with their followers drawn up in military array before the dismantled ruins of Jamestown, while Lord Delaware stepped from his boat, and, falling upon his knees on the shore, lifted his hands in prayer, thanking God that he had come in time to save Virginia."\*

Here the question naturally may be asked why, if peace existed between England and Spain under the Treaty of 1604-1605, should Spain desire to intercept English ships and hang their crews and passengers or send them to the galleys, and barbarously to destroy actual English settlements and settlers in efforts to plant and maintain English settlements in the New World, and why should the ships of England carrying settlers to Virginia follow an ocean route along the coast of Spain and beyond to the Canaries and thence to the West Indies, when such route would throw them in the path of and almost inevitably bring them in conflict with the Spaniards; why did not English ships for Virginia sail straight across the ocean to Virginia and avoid the long and circuitous route and a route crossing the ocean some 1200 miles south of a straight and direct line from England to Virginia, and also thus avoid to some extent the danger of conflicts with the ships of hostile Spain?

Replying to the last question first:

We have already shown that later vessels came directly across the ocean to New England without following the

<sup>\*</sup> John Fiske, Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, Vol. I, pages 148-155.

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Southern route, but that it took about the same time to cross on the Northern as it did on the Southern route.

These small vessels of that day sailing to cross the Atlantic to America, overcrowded as they were with men, women and children and without capacity to carry sufficient fresh water and supplies for a long and dangerous voyage, were compelled to take the Southern route by way of the Azores or the Canaries, at a risk of possible hostile attacks from the Spaniards. The Southern route afforded frequent stops the Northern route did not afford, so by taking the Southern route these small vessels were enabled to obtain fresh water and supplies and make necessary repairs.

We now will take up the question why, if peace existed between England and Spain under the Treaty of 1604-1605, Spain should desire to intercept English ships and hang their crews and passengers or send them to the galleys, and barbarously to destroy actual English settlements and settlers in efforts to plant and maintain English settlements in the New World?

It is true that during the war between England and Spain from 1585 to the Treaty of Peace of 1604-1605 between the two countries, the attempt of the English people to colonize parts of the New World was suspended. The threatened invasion of England by Spain and the portentious preparations of Spain with that purpose demanded the ships and men should be kept at home. Ships were seized by the government. "While by night and day the music of adze and hammer was heard in English ship-yards."\*

It is, therefore, also true of the Treaty of Peace of 1604-5 that "It was the peace which made possible the permanent settlement of the English across the Atlantic battle-ground in the far distant land of Virginia.";

The Atlantic and the New World were still to remain the battleground in the efforts of the English people to establish

<sup>\*</sup> John Fiske, Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, Vol. I, pages 34-35; History of North America, Vol. III, page 52, by Peter Joseph Hamilton.

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a permanent foothold in America. The Treaty of Peace of 1604-5 was not, and was not when it was concluded, intended to be a treaty of peace adjusting the respective hostile claims of England and Spain prior to that war and since to sovereignty, to possessions, or to trade in the New World. That treaty might bring peace to England and Spain in Europe, but it left and continued the state of war between England and Spain that had previously existed in the New World.

When that treaty of peace was being negotiated England would not acknowledge even in the most indirect way that their trade with the Indies was illegal or that they had no right to make settlement in the New World where Spain had no established settlement. Spain denied the right of England and of every nation other than Spain to establish settlement in any part of the New World, although Spain might have had no possession of the territory, or had even no knowledge of it.

"The Treaty allowed trade only to places where trade had been carried on before the war: in quibus ante bellum fuit commercium. The saying 'Peace in Europe, War beyond the Line' appeared to have been based on this treaty."\*

Motley, in his History of the Netherlands, Vol. IV, Chapter XLIV, tells us:

"In the summer of 1604 King James made a treaty of peace and amity with the archdukes and with the monarch of Spain, thus extending his friendly relations with the doomed house of Austria. The republic of the Netherlands was left to fight her battles alone; her imaginary allies looking down upon her struggle with benevolent indifference. As for the Indies, not a syllable of allusion in the treaty was permitted by Spain to that sacred subject; the ambassador informing the British Government that he gave them access to twelve kingdoms and two seas, while Spain acquired by the treaty access only to two kingdoms and one sea. (Meteren, 500.) The new world, however, east or west,

<sup>\*</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh's Search for Eldorado, by N. Darnell Davis, C.M.G.; Blackwood's Magazine, December, 1913, page 776.

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indefeasible property of his Catholic Majesty."

"The first act of his pusillanimous hand had been to throw away all for which they had striven so long. From the first, under the flag of old John Hawkins, the seamen had fought for the oceanic trade, and when we examine the peace which James hastened to make, we find that so far as the oceanic trade is concerned there is nothing but the status quo ante. The Indies are not so much as mentioned. The burning question, which had been the main cause of so much bloodshed and suffering, was left to rest on a vague declaration that the old commercial treaties between England and the House of Burgundy were still valid. on these very treaties that John Hawkins had been first sent out by the London merchants to assert their right to trade with Philip's colonies, and the answer had been to treat him as a pirate. Since then a whole generation had passed. For more than thirty years blood and treasure had been poured out upon the sea to open the gates of the new world, which the blighting hands of Spain kept sullenly locked, and so far as the new treaty went not an inch had been gained. It gave no more than the right to trade with all "Kingdoms, Dominions, and Islands" of the King of Spain to which before the war there was commerce according to the ancient treaties. It was exactly where Hawkins had started. There was a further clause, it is true, which might be construed as throwing open the Indies. It provided that no party to the treaty would exclude the vessels of any other party from any port in his "kingdoms and dominions," on customary dues being paid. But it was on an exactly similar provision that Hawkins had claimed the right to trade on the Spanish Main, and had been refused. The treaty settled nothing. The old quarrel stood precisely where it began. (Rymer, page 579.)"\*

Spain claimed the entire territory on the American coast by virtue of the discovery Columbus made in his voyage of 1492, and the grant made by Pope Alexander VI in 1493

<sup>\*</sup> Corbett's Successors of Drake, pages 403, 404.

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of "all the firm lands and islands found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, west and south, drawing a line from the Pole Arctic to the Pole Antarctic \* \* \* such as have not actually been heretofore possessed by any other Christian king or prince," i. e. west of the line as finally fixed by the Treaty of Tordesellas in 1494, corresponding with the 50th degree of longitude west of Greenwich, and thenceforth from the date of that donation of Pope Alexander VI Spain not only claimed the right, but by force and arms attempted to exclude all other people from trade or settlement beyond the line to be west.

England asserted that while Columbus discovered some of the islands of the West Indies, John Cabot and Sebastian, his son, in their voyages beginning with that of 1497 traced nearly the whole coast of America and made the first discovery thereof.

"They could not acknowledge the Spanish right to all that country, either by donation from the Pope or from having touched here and there upon those coasts, built cottages and given names to a few places; that this, by the law of nations, could not hinder other princes from fully navigating those seas and transporting colonies to those parts where Spaniards do not inhabit; that prescription without possession availeth nothing."\*

England also insisted on the right to trade with all Spanish possessions in or out of Europe by reason of their treaty of peace and amity made in the reign of Charles V. The Spaniards disputed these claims of England and maintained that there was "no peace beyond the line" that is, Pope Alexander VI line as finally fixed by the Treaty of Tordesellas.

The English retaliated by armed smuggling voyages.

"Previous to the conquest of Granada and the unification of Aragon and Castile in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella, Spain had presented to the world little more than the spectacle of a group of weak and warring provinces.

<sup>\*</sup> Brown's Genesis, pages 9 and 10; John Fiske, Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, Vol. I, page 30.

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<sup>\*</sup> Brown's Generics, pages 9 and 19; John Fislos, Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, Vol. I, page 30.

Suddenly, and as a consequence of these three events—the conquest of the Moors, the union of the throne of Aragon and Castile, and the discovery of America—Spain astonished Europe by attaining a foremost position among the nations and in the arena of diplomacy. Naturally, her chief rival was Portugal, owing to close neighborhood, and the fact of the maritime activity of the latter country. In those times, the fiction was accepted that all heathen lands unclaimed by Christian nations were by right of his office under the control of the Pope of Rome, and that he could present the title to them to any Christian power he might choose. Pope Martin V had accordingly granted to the Crown of Portugal the possession of all lands that might be discovered between Cape Bojador and the Indies going eastward.

"Immediately upon Columbus's return an ambassador was dispatched to Rome with the announcement of the new discoveries and a request that the papal authorization might be granted for their acquirement by the Spanish realm. Pope Alexander VI acceded to this demand all the more willingly because of the sovereign's triumph over the Mahommedan power in Granada and especially because in the Spaniard's message there was the suspicion of a hint that in any case he intended to hold that which had fallen into his hands by discovery.

"The result of these negotiations was the famous Bull establishing a line of demarcation on either side of which Spain and Portugal might discover and appropriate lands ad infinitum so long as there remained a foot of the earth's surface which had not already fallen into the possession of some Christian power."\*

"The bull or donation of Pope Alexander VI to the Kings of Castile and Leon gave, granted and assigned 'to you, your heirs and successors all the firm lands and Islands found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, toward the West and the South, drawing a line from

<sup>\*</sup> History of North America—Discovery and Exploration, by Alfred Brittain, Vol. I, pages 243, &c.

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the pole Arctic to the pole Antarctic (that is) from the North to the South; containing in this donation, whatsoever firm lands or Islands are found or to be found toward India or toward any other part whatsoever it be, being distant from or without the foresaid line drawn a hundred leagues toward the West and South from any of the islands which are commonly called De Los Azores and Cabo Verde. All the islands therefore and firm lands, found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered, from the said line toward the West and South, such as have not actually been heretofore possessed by any other Christian king or prince until the day of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ last past from the which beginneth this present year, being the year of our Lord 1493 whensoever any such shall be found by your messengers and captains."

"This decree ceded to Spain the whole of the American continent with the exception of the Brazillian Coast. But Portugal was dissatisfied with the imaginary north and south line of demarcation extending through a point one hundred leagues from the Cape Verd Islands and the matter was adjusted by the treaty of Tordesillas, which was signed by the monarchs of both countries on June 7th, 1494, by virtue of which this line was drawn at a distance of three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verd Islands."†

"The boundary line corresponded to the 50th degree of longitude west of Greenwich, which strikes the main land of South America about the mouth of the Amazon. Thenceforward the Spaniards claimed the right to exclude all other peoples from trade or settlement 'beyond the line.' "‡

"After the accession of Queen Elizabeth and the beginning of the breach between England and Spain they were joined

<sup>\*</sup> See the Bull or Donation set out in extenso, History of North America—Discovery and Exploration—Brittain, Vol. I, pages 244-249.

<sup>†</sup> History of North America—Discovery and Exploration—Brittain, Vol. I, page 249.

<sup>‡</sup> Article "America," by David Hannay, Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Ed., Vol. I, page 806.

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"In course of time it was found that this decision had thrown by very much the greater part of the two American continents into the share of Spain. Other nations refused, indeed, to allow the bull 'inter caetera' gave Spain any exclusive rights. But the Spanish Government was of another opinion. It abstained, indeed, from interfering with the English settlements in New England and the French in Canada, which were poor and distant. Its own weakness forced it so far to acquiesce in what it could not prevent, but it never recognized the legitimacy of foreign settlements; and whenever any of them approached those regions where the Spanish rule was strong, they were liable to attack, even when peace prevailed in Europe. The Spaniards, in fact, recognized no peace beyond the line,—that is to say, the line of demarcation from north to south, and not, as is sometimes supposed, the equator. Hence there arose a permanent condition of lawless violence in the West Indies."†

During the Protectorate, Cromwell desired to make an alliance with Spain and negotiations to that end took place.

"But Spain was not to be influenced in the way desired by England. Before Cromwell could undertake to help the Spaniards against the French, there were two concessions he was bound to demand from them. The first was the exemption of Englishmen from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. The second was the admission of English trade to the Spanish possessions in the New World. Pride and the blind obstinacy with which the Spaniards, to their ruin,

<sup>\*</sup> Article "America," David Hannay, Encyclopædia Britannica, 11 Ed., Vol. I, page 807.

<sup>†</sup> Short History of the Royal Navy, by David Hannay, page 280.

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have always clung to their most extreme pretentions, made it impossible for the King and Council of Castile to yield what Oliver demanded. It is a well-known story that when the Protector made these two concessions the price of his alliance against France, the Spanish Ambassador, Don Alonso de Cardenas, answered, 'My master has but two eyes, and you ask him for both of them.' Spain, in fact, would rather fight on in hopeless contumacious obstinacy than yield up her right to protect the purity of her faith and her pretension to retain the monopoly in the New World. Since, then, Cromwell could not obtain his ends by treaty, he prepared to extort them from Spain by force. He turned to the French alliance, and made ready for war."\*

Gardiner, in his History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, Vol. III, pages 343, 345, referring to Cromwell,

says:

"The commercial interests of England led him to challenge the claim of Spain, not, indeed, as has often been erroneously alleged, to refuse to Englishmen the right of trading with Spanish colonies, but to seize English ships and to maltreat English crews merely because they were found in some part or another of the Carribean Sea, even though they might be destined for some island in actual possession of an English colony. Setting aside, therefore, the religious grounds of strife, the impending conflict based itself on a conflict between two opposing principles. For England the right of possession rested on effective occupation. (The Protector had here adopted Raleigh's view. Hist, of England, 1603-1642, iii., 39-41.) For Spain, so far as America was concerned, it rested on the arbitrament of Alexander VI. Taking his view of the position for granted, Oliver assured Venables of the righteousness of his mission. 'Either,' he argued, 'there was peace with the Spaniards in the West Indies or there was not. If peace, they had violated it, and to seek reparation was just. If we had no peace, then there was

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nothing acted against articles with Spain.' (Venables' Narrative, 3.) The expedition once resolved on, Oliver had no thought of limiting it to the seizure of any single port or island. He was bent on bringing under English dominion the track of the gold convoys across the Isthmus of Panama (Instructions to Venables. Burchett's Complete History of \* \* \* Transactions at Sea, 385.) This scheme was a reversion to the Elizabethan gold-hunt, as opposed to the agricultural and commercial settlements of more recent years. There was nothing strange in the adoption of such a policy. What was strange was that Oliver should have thought it possible to cut off the supplies through which alone Spain was able to save herself from bankruptcy, and yet to remain at peace with her in Europe. It is to be presumed that the long-suffering with which Philip II. had postponed hostile action, in spite of Drake's roving exploits in American waters, led him to forget that the hesitating and inactive character of that Philip was unlikely to be reproduced in his grandson; and also that his personal experience of his relations with France had convinced him of the possibility of carrying on warfare by sea without coming to a formal breach which would carry with it the opening of hostilities in a wider sphere. However this may have been, Oliver seems to have thought that he could justify an attack on the treasure-house of the world by the happy results which his action was likely to produce on the balance of power amongst the churches of Europe. New England the great enterprise was discussed with approval, Cotton's satisfaction taking the form of a prediction that it would lead to the drying up of the river Euphrates foretold in the Apocalypse. To Captain Leverett, fresh from service in New England, Oliver had used much the same language, adding that 'he intended not to desist till he came to the gates of Rome."

The Note at the foot of page 343 of Gardiner's work is as follows:

"Oliver's views on this subject are clearly set forth in the commission issued by him to the five commissioners island. He was bent on bringing under English dominion (Instructions to Venables, Burchett's Complete History of \* \* \* Transactions at Sea, 385.) This scheme was agricultural and commercial settlements of more recent

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Referring to the capture by the English of Jamaica and the inducements held out by Cromwell to New Englanders to migrate to Jamaica, the article on Oliver Cromwell in

the Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. 7, page 495, says:

"In spite of almost insuperable difficulties, the colony took root, trade began, the fleet lay in wait for the Spanish treasure ships, the settlements of the Spaniards were raided, and their repeated attempts to retake the island were successfully resisted. In 1658, Col. Edward Doyley, the Governor, gained a decisive victory over thirty companies of Spanish foot, and sent ten of their flags to Cromwell. The Protector,

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however, did not live to witness the final trimph of his undertaking, which gave to England, as he had wished, 'the mastery of those seas,' ensuring the English colonies against Spanish attacks, and being maintained and followed up at the Restoration."

The lengthy quotations I have used in replying to the question why, notwithstanding the Treaty of Peace of 1604-1605, Spain should desire to intercept English ships and hang their crews and passengers, or send them to the galleys and barbarously destroy actual English settlements and settlers in efforts to plant and maintain English settlements in the New World, may be more than necessary to remind us of the history and results of "Peace in Europe, War beyond the Line." But at the risk of being tiresome, I have not refrained from using as fully as I can the views of competent historians upon some of the most interesting and important incidents and conditions growing out of the discovery of America and connected with its early settlement under "Peace in Europe, War beyond the Line."

Now, as to a summary of the career of Sir George Yeardley:

"Of all the remarkable men who were prominently connected with the early government of Virginia in the reign of James I, none was more remarkable than Sir George Yeardley, who died, when Governor for the second time, in November, 1627. In his younger days, a Soldier by profession, he had, like his contemporaries in the Virginia government, Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale, fought with distinction in the Low Countries. In 1609 he accompanied as Commandant of his body guard Lieut. Genl Sir Thomas Gates in the Ship Sea Adventure, one of the fleet under Sir George Somers, with settlers and magazinei. e., supplies—for Virginia. Three of the ships were wrecked on the Bermudas in the Storm which gave Shakespeare the basis of his 'Tempest,' and for ten months the ship-wrecked crews and passengers were detained on the island. In that interval Lady Gates died. In June, 1610, the survivors having succeeded in constructing two seahowever, did not live to witness the final trimph of his undertaking, which gave to England, as he had wished, the mastery of those seas, ensuring the English colonies against Spanish attacks, and being maintained and followed

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"His governorship saw the beginning of the Tobacco cultivation in Virginia, as well as the beginning of the form of Government, which has developed into the present Constitution of the United States of America. Arriving as Govr. on April 19th, 1619, on July 30th he convened the first Legislative Assembly of the Colony. He had various estates bestowed on him on the James River, one, the Flower dieu Hundred, having been sold by him in 1626 to Abraham Piersey (a photo. copy of a letter from whom to Sir Edward Sandys will follow), and is now owned by the Willcox family. Another, Wyanoke, is in possession of the Douthat family. He was buried in Jamestown on Novr. 13th, 1627, and the site of his grave is unknown. [It is believed that the recently discovered tomb in the church, which formerly bore a brass of a knight in armor, is Yeardley's.]"\*

The first Legislative Assembly of representative government in America was, as has already been noted, convened by Sir George Yeardly during his Governorship in 1619. That action may be said to have been the crowning act of his political career. The graphic account of that Assembly

<sup>\*</sup> Farrar Papers, Virginia Historical Magazine, Vol. X, page 283.

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<sup>&</sup>quot; Farrar Papers, Virginia Historical Magazine, Vol. X, page 283.

and of its members given in the address delivered July, 1894, by Hon. William Wirt Henry justifies the following quotation from his address:

"The Spaniards and French who settled in America, brought with them the impress of imperialism, which had cursed the countries from whence they came. The English, on the contrary, who settled these United States, brought with them the free institutions of England which had grown up under the rights and privileges of the House of Commons, first firmly established in the reign of Edward I. This great monarch not only confirmed the great charter which had been wrung from the treacherous John at Runymede, but he converted into an established law a privilege of which the people had previously only a precarious enjoyment, namely, the sole and exclusive right of Parliament to levy taxes. The memorable words of this statute, which purports to be the language of the King, were: 'Nullum tallagium vel auxilium per nos, vel haeredes nostros in regno nostro, ponatur sue levetur, sine voluntate et assensu archie piscoporum, episcoporum, comitum, baronum, militum, burgensium, et aliorum liberorum hominum de regno nostro.' 'A most important statute this,' says De-Lolme, 'which, in conjunction with Magna Charta, forms the basis of the English Constitution. If from the latter, the English are to date the origin of their liberty, from the former they are to date the establishment of it; and as the Great Charter was the bulwark that protected the freedom of individuals, so was the statute in question the engine which protected the charter itself, and by the help of which the people were thenceforth to make legal conquests over the authority of the Crown. This powerful weapon of defense and offense was like the sword of the Archangel, of which we are told:

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Of Michael from the armory of God

Was given him tempered so, that neither keen

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"With it the English people, after many a stubborn conflict with the Royal perogative, had, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, so firmly established their political rights, that they were recognized as the freest people upon the earth. Not that their struggle was entirely ended, but so powerful had become the Commons, that usurping Kings found themselves engaged in an unequal conflict, in which a Charles lost his head, and a James his kingdom, and thenceforth the Kings of England were forced to govern according to the provisions of the Bill of Rights, under which the supremacy of Parliament was established.

"The English Colonists who first settled in America brought with them, by their charter, all the rights of Englishmen. But local self-government was not accorded to the Virginians at first. They suffered great hardships under what resembled a military government, until the year 1619, when the Colony was deemed sufficiently grown to warrant an Assembly. In that year Sir George Yeardley arrived with the Commission of Governor-General from the London Company, which had planted and governed the Colony. Among his instructions was one, also called a commission, that brought joy to the hearts of the Colonists. It was, as they described it, 'they might have a hande in the governinge of themselves, it was granted that a general assemblie should be helde yearly once, whereat were to be present the Gov'r and Counsell, with two Burgesses from each plantation freely to be elected by the inhabitants thereof; this Assembly to have power to make and ordaine whatsoever laws and orders should by them be thought good and proffittable for our subsistence'

"This commission, the real Magna Charter of Virginia, was issued the 28th of November, 1618. That night a flaming comet appeared in the Heavens, which was considered then an ill omen, but which might more properly have been taken as a heavenly recognition of the great boon which had been bestowed on America. The comet was visible till the 26th of December, and the prevailing superstition prevented the sailing of Governor Yeardley till it

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was safely departed. He, therefore, sailed with his commission and instructions, the 29th of January, 1619, more than a year before the sailing of the Pilgrims.

"In accordance with this Commission, in June Governor Yeardley sent his summons all over the country, as well to invite those of the Council of State that were absent, as for the election of two Burgesses from each of the plantations, to meet at Jamestown on the 30th of July, 1619 (O. S.). As this was the first Legislative Assembly which met in America and was the beginning of the free institutions which we now enjoy, I have thought it would be of interest to give some account of it, and of its proceedings."\*

Bancroft, in his History of the United States, Vol. 1, page 152, says:

"When, early in 1626, Wyatt retired, the reappointment of Sir George Yeardley was in itself a guarantee that, as 'the former interests of Virginia were to be kept inviolate,' so the representative government would be maintained; for it was Yeardley who had introduced the system. In his commission, in which William Clayborne, described as 'a person of quality and trust,' is named as secretary, the monarch expressed his desire to encourage and perfect the plantation; 'the same means that were formerly thought fit for the maintenance of the colony' were continued; and the power of the governor and council was limited, as it had before been done in the commission of Wyatt, by a reference to the usages of the last five years. In that period, representative liberty had become the custom of Virginia. The words were interpreted as favoring the wishes of the colonists; and King Charles, intent only on increasing his revenue, confirmed the existence of a popular assembly. Virginia rose rapidly in public esteem; in 1627, a thousand emigrants arrived; and there was an increasing demand for the products of its soil.

<sup>\*</sup> From the address delivered by Hon. William Wirt Henry before the Virginia Historical Society published in Virginia Magazine of History, July, 1894.

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"In November, 1627, the career of Yeardley was closed by death. Posterity retains a grateful recollection of the man who first convened a representative assembly in the western hemisphere; the colonists, in a letter to the privy council, gave a eulogy on his virtues." "In November, 1627, the career of Yeardley was closed by death. Posterity retains a grateful recollection of the man who first convened a representative assembly in the western hemisphere; the colonists, in a letter to the privy council, gave a eulogy on his virtues."

## Jacob Leisler,

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, 1689-91.

By Edward Fenno Hoffman.

Read June 1, 1914.

I am descendant in the sixth generation from Jacob Leisler, Lieutenant-Governor of New York, who was executed on the charge of high treason with his secretary,

Jacob Milborne, on the 16th of May, 1691.

The Leisler blood was infused into the Hoffman stock through the marriage of my greatgrandfather, Nicholas Hoffman, and Sarah Ogden, who was the greatgrand-daughter of Jacob Leisler through the marriage of Jacob Leisler's daughter, Mary Leisler Milborne (widow of the Milborne who was executed at the same time as Leisler) with Abraham Gouverneur and the marriage of Gertrude Gouverneur, daughter of Abraham Gouverneur, with David Ogden, father of Sarah Ogden.

The treason alleged for which Leisler and Milborne were executed grew out of a misunderstanding of the circumstances under which Leisler, as representing the Dutch faction, held possession of the fort or citadel of New York, for the purpose of delivering it to the accredited representative of William and Mary of Orange, after the abdication of King James of England in 1689.

James, the dullest and weakest of the Stuart sovereigns, was a fanatical Catholic. In secret league with Louis the Fourteenth of France, and under his influence he sought by arbitrary measures to place Catholics in control and overthrow the established religion of England. Through his subserviency to Louis and his inclination to Popish influences he lost the confidence of his people and received, outside of Ireland, but feeble support on the invasion of William of Orange.

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"Never had the secret league with France seemed so full of danger to English religion. Europe had long been trembling at the ambition of Louis. It was trembling now at his bigotry. He had proclaimed warfare against civil liberty in his attack upon Holland; he declared war at this moment upon religious freedom by revoking the Edict of Nantes, the measure by which Henry the Fourth after his abandonment of Protestantism secured toleration and the free exercise of their worship for his Protestant subjects."

The revocation was followed by outrages more cruel than even the bloodshed of Alva. Dragoons were quartered on Protestant families, women were flung from their sick beds into the streets, children were torn from their mothers' arms to be brought up in Catholicism, ministers were sent to the galleys. In spite of the royal edicts, which forbade even flight to the victims of these horrible atrocities a hundred thousand Protestants fled over the borders, and Holland, Switzerland, and the Palatinate were filled with French exiles.

In dread of a condition of anarchy and that massacres would follow in New York as the result of the Revolution in England, the citizens at a mass meeting sought out Leisler and induced him to accept command of the fort in the name of William of Orange. From the position as commander of the fort his authority was amplified by powers conferred upon him by popular conventions until he exercised the full powers of a lieutenant-governor. He acted in that capacity with the accord of his fellow-citizens for a period of two years, all the time proclaiming and avowing himself as the representative of William of Orange. He resisted demands for surrender of his authority until finally he yielded possession to Colonel Henry Sloughter, who appeared with a formal commission from King William.

During his administration there were many exciting episodes which called for prompt and energetic action, "Never had the secret league with France seemed so full of danger to English religion. Europe had long been trembling at the ambition of Louis. It was trembling now at his bigotry. He had proclaimed warfare against civil liberty in his attack upon Holland; he declared war at this moment upon religious freedom by revoking the Edict of Nantes, the measure by which Henry the Fourth after his abandonment of Protestantism scoured toleration and the free exercise of their worship for his Protestant subjects."

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and he made many enemies among the landed proprietors at home and the adherents of King James, whose animosity was excited to such a degree that after he had surrendered command he was arrested and imprisoned and his trial for high treason was demanded and his conviction procured by coercive methods and a judicial murder was the result.

Four years later, in 1695, an Act of Parliament was passed, with a full preamble, establishing the propriety of the conduct of Leisler, the attainder was reversed, and the remains of Leisler were exhumed and given honorable burial in the burial grounds of the South Dutch Church in New York.

The execution of Leisler and Milborne in 1691 was as clear an instance of an outburst of prejudice and passion on the part of the English faction in New York as was the execution of Sir Walter Raleigh in 1618, to satisfy the animosity of King Philip of Spain.

To understand the character of Leisler, a rugged soldier of meagre education, whose life and fortunes were influenced by the rivalry of the Dutch and English, it is important to review the early development and colonization of New York.

The marvellous growth of this country is most impressive in retrospect.

Shakespeare, in the soliloquy of Jacques, divides the life of man into seven stages from the cradle to the grave. If the process be reversed and generations of existence be supplied for phases of a single life six generations take me back in ancestry to the time of Leisler and seven generations to my first known ancestor, Martinus Hoffman, among the earliest Dutch settlers, one of a small band of Hollanders, isolated among Indians.

Washington Irving, in September, 1804, at that time twenty-one years of age, when he was a student at law in my grandfather Josiah Ogden Hoffman's office, standing at the Battery on a September afternoon, indulges in a reverie on the growth of New York, and thus expressed himself:

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Washington Irving, in September, 1804, at that time twenty-one years of age, when he was a student at law in my grandfather Josiah Ogden Hoffman's office, standing at the Battery on a September afternoon, indulges in a reverie on the growth of New York, and thus

expressed himself:

"In the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, on a fine afternoon, in the glowing month of September, I took my customary walk upon the Battery, which is at once the pride and bulwark of this ancient and impregnable city of New York. The ground on which I trod was hallowed by recollections of the past, and as I slowly wandered through the long alley of poplars, which like so many birch-brooms standing on end, diffused a melancholy and lugubrious shade, my imagination drew a contrast between the surrounding scenery, and what it was in the classic days of our forefathers. Where the government house by name, but the custom house by occupation, proudly reared its brick walls and wooden pillars, there whilome stood the low but substantial, red-tiled mansion of the renowned Wouter Van Twiller. Around it the mighty bulwarks of Fort Amsterdam frowned defiance to every absent foe: but, like many a whiskered warrior and gallant militia captain, confined their martial deeds to frowns alone. The mud breast-works had long been levelled with the earth, and their site converted into the green lawns and leafy alleys of the Battery; where the gay apprentice sported his Sunday coat, and the laborious mechanic, relieved from the dirt and drudgery of the week, poured his weekly tale of love into the half-averted ear of the sentimental chambermaid. The capacious bay still presented the same expansive sheet of water, studded with islands, sprinkled with fishing-boats, and bounded with shores of picturesque beauty. But the dark forests which once clothed these shores had been violated by the savage hand of cultivation; and their tangled mazes, and impenetrable thickets, had degenerated into teeming orchards and waving fields of grain. Even Governor's Island, once a smiling garden, appertaining to the sovereigns of the province, was now covered with fortifications, enclosing a tremendous blockhouse so that this once

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peaceful island resembled a fierce little warrior in a big cocked hat, breathing gunpowder and defiance to the world."

Contrast this scene of one hundred and ten years ago with the panorama from the Battery today. The city of one hundred thousand people of 1804 is now a metropolis of five million inhabitants and the blooming orchards and teeming grain fields portrayed by Irving as having succeeded to the dark forests have now become the site of skyscrapers and docks for mammoth ocean liners. Again contrast Irving's New York of 1804 with the New Amsterdam of the days before the English capture in 1664, which he thus pictures:

"Hordes of painted savages still lurked about the tangled forests and rich bottoms of the unsettled part of the island—the hunter pitched his rude bower of skins and bark beside the rills that ran through the cool and shady glens; while here and there might be seen, on some sunny knoll, a group of Indian wigwams, whose smoke rose above the neighboring trees, and floated in the transparent atmosphere. By degrees, a mutual good will had grown up between these wandering beings and the burghers of New Amsterdam. Our benevolent forefathers endeavored as much as possible to meliorate their situation, by giving them gin, rum, and glass beads, in exchange for their peltries; for it seems the kind-hearted Dutchmen had conceived a great friendship for their savage neighbors, on account of their being pleasant men to trade with, and little skilled in the art of making a bargain.

"Now and then a crew of these half-human sons of the forest would make their appearance in the streets of New Amsterdam, fantastically painted and decorated with beads and flaunting feathers, sauntering about with an air of listless indifference—sometimes in the market-place, instructing the little Dutch boys in the use of the bow and arrow, at other

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times, inflamed with liquor, swaggering and whooping and yelling about the town like so many fiends, to the great dismay of all the good wives, who would hurry their children into the house, fasten the doors, and throw water upon the enemy from the garretwindows."

There was a great fascination about the early wilderness to the emigrants from the bleak shores of the Baltic. It must have appeared to them as a veritable paradise. An early Dutch poet thus sings its praises:—

Dit is het Land, daar Melk en Honig vloeyd; Dit is't geweest, daar't Kruyd (als dist'len—groeyd: Dit is de Plaats, daar Aron's-Roede Bloeyd, Dit is het Eden.

This is the land where milk and honey flow,
Where healing plants as thick as thistles grow;
The place where flowers on Aaron's Rod do blow;
This, this is Eden.

Milk and honey are allegorical of the bounties of nature. That nature was prodigal of its bounties in New York is testified to as follows by Van der Donck, Domine Megapolensis, who writes:

"The fruits and vegetables of Holland flourished in the garden plots and truck-farms of Manhattan. Rye and barley grew in the unexhausted soil higher than the head of a man. Breweries being many, so of course were hop gardens while, as Father Jogues had noted, both wheat and oats were used in the making of beer. Other edibles besides the invaluable maize had been acquired from the red men; and the riches, incredible to a newly arrived European, of virgin woods and waters were now turned to good account by the skillful hands of the Dutch housewife. There were many kinds of fish and of shellfish, including lobsters sometimes five or six feet long although those thought best for the table were from a foot to a foot and a half in length. Venison was so cheaply procured from Indian hunters that the mutton for which the first settlers had pined was now little esteemed. Wild turkeys abounded,

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as many as 'five hundred in a flock.' Pigeons and partridges darkened the sky in their flight. Manifold kinds of geese and ducks lay in clouds on river and bay, while thousands of swans sometimes made their shares appear as though bordered by 'white napery.' Wild strawberries reddened the fields; and, wherever one turned, wild vines clothed 'the largest and loftiest threes' with garlands of grapes 'large and sweet as in Holland.'"

The size of the flocks of wild turkeys I doubt on account of the capacity of a hen turkey to sit on five hundred eggs, and from the further fact that the excessive bounties of nature created a certain degree of intoxicated imagination. Another enthusiast, John Joslin, says that in America porcupines laid eggs and frogs sat on their haunches twelve inches in height and unicorns ranged in the forests.

However, to return from this digression to a short sketch of the colonization of New York, showing the jealousies and animosities between the Dutch and English, from the early settlement and after a capitulation of the English in 1664, that led to the uprising in 1689, in which Leisler was the leader and became the innocent victim of the enmity of the adherents of King James and their colonial supporters.

Though the Hudson River was discovered by Hendrick Hudson on his famous voyage of discovery in 1609 in the ship "Half Moon," it was not until 1621 that active colonization began under the auspices of the Dutch West India Company. This company was given exclusive authority by the state's general in Holland to trade along the American coast from Newfoundland to the Strait of Magellan, to make alliances with the rulers of the strange countries its ships might visit and found colonies to be ruled by it under the supervision of the state's general, with certain guarantees of assistance from the home government in case of war with its competitors.

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Though the Hudson River was discovered by Hendrick Hudson on his famous voyage of discovery in 1600 in colonies to be ruled by it under the supervision of the Under this charter the West India Company purchased the Island of Manhattes from the Indians for the consideration of sixty guilders, about twenty dollars, and proceeded to lay out the City of New Amsterdam. This is reported in a letter from Peter Schaghen, the owner of the ship "Arms", on his return to Amsterdam, from a voyage to the New Netherlands, in a letter to the representatives of the state's general, dated 5th of November, A. D. 1626. The cargo of this ship, the oldest manifest in the port of New York is:

"7246 beaver skins, 178 half otter skins, 675 otter skins, 48 mink skins, 36 wildcat skins, 33 minks, 34 rat skins, Much oak timber and nut-wood."

Having acquired possession of the soil the West India Company proceeded to plot and lease farms to colonists and provide them with stock and implements to be paid for in installments. In 1628 the first clergyman, dominee Michaelius, came over with his wife and children and wrote home August 8, 1628, from the Island of the Manhattes: "The voyage was very difficult and perilous, the cook wicked and ungodly and the skipper as unmannerly as a buffalo)" but he is pleased with the country as he writes:

". . . As to the waters both of the sea and rivers they yield all kinds of fish; and as to the land it abounds in all kinds of game, wild and in the groves, with vegetables, fruits, roots, herbs, and plants both for eating and medicinal purposes, working wonderful cures. . . . The country is good and pleasant and the climate is healthy notwithstanding the sudden changes of cold and heat. The sun is very warm; the winter is severe and continues full as long as in our country. The best remedy is not to spare the wood, of which there is enough, and to cover oneself with rough skins which can also easily be obtained. . . . Until now there has been distress because many of the people were not very industrious and also did not obtain proper sustenance for want of bread

Under this charter the West India Company purchased the Island of Manhattes from the Indians for the consideration of sixty guilders, about twenty dollars, and proceeded to lay out the City of New Amsterdam. This is reported in a letter from Peter Schaghen, the owner of the ship "Arms", on his return to Amsterdam, from a voyage to the New Netherlands, in a letter to the representatives of the state's general, dated 5th of November, A. D. 1626. The cargo of this ship, the oldest manifest in the port of New York is:

"7246 beaver skins, 178 half otter skins, 675 otter skins, 48 mink skins, 36 wildcat skins, 33 minks, 34 rat skins, Much oak timber and nut-wood"

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and other necessaries. But affairs are beginning to put on a better appearance, if only the directors will send out good laborers and exercise all care that they be maintained as well as possible with what this country produces."

By the terms of the charter the West India company reserved for itself the Island of Manhattes. Elsewhere persons of any sort, of whom the director general and council approved, were permitted on their own account or that of some master to take up as much land as they could properly cultivate and were to enjoy free privileges of hunting and fowling.

"Much greater privileges were secured to any member of the Company who should engage to take out within four years at his own cost and risk fifty adult settlers. He might claim land stretching sixteen English miles along the seacoast or one side of a navigable river, or eight miles along both sides of a river, and might exchange them for others should they prove undesirable. The introduction of more settlers would entitle him to more land; and within his domain he was to be a semi-independent 'patroon' or 'lord,' with gaming and fishing rights, mill rights, tenths from the harvests and other privileges such as the great landowners of the fatherland enjoyed, with civil and criminal jurisdiction, the power to appoint all magistrates, and the right to send a delegate annually to Fort Amsterdam to consult with the director-general and council regarding affairs of common interest. These provisions marked the first step towards local self government in New Netherland.

"The people whom a patroon should send out were to bind themselves for a term of years and during this term were to be his subjects, swearing fealty to him and pledging themselves not to leave his land and control. The company promised to supply the patroons with African slaves if possible; and other necessaries. But affairs are beginning to put on a better appearance, if only the directors will send out good laborers and exercise all care that they be maintained as well as possible with what this country produces."

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and to encourage immigrants to become their tenants it exempted their people but not the 'free' merchants or colonists for ten years from all obligation to pay taxes to the provincial government. No free colonist was to claim land within twenty-four miles of a patroonship.

"On the other hand the Company strictly ordered all colonists including the patroons to satisfy the Indians for their lands. It forbade them upon pain of banishment to manufacture cloth or stuffs of any kind-lest, of course, its own profits from the exportation of necessaries be diminished. It directed the patroons to render formal annual reports upon their colonies, and enjoined them to establish churches and schools. The most hotly debated point when the charter was framed had been the question of the fur trade. The final decision was that the patroons might trade the produce of their farms for furs in places where the Company stationed no commissary, but must pay a tax of one guilder on each skin. In other commodities they might trade along the coast from Newfoundland to Carolina upon condition that they would bring their cargoes to Manhattan and there pay a duty of five per cent. before reshipping them, and would send fish not to Holland, but only to neutral countries upon payment of an export duty of three guilders a ton. All these prohibitions and limitations were set because the Company intended 'to people the Island of the Manathes first.' But as it had reserved Manhattan for itself this simply meant that its aim in trying to people any part of its province was to draw commercial profit from the settlers' enterprises. It was to transport colonists and goods at reasonable rates, cattle and farm implements free. If no Company ships were ready patroons might use their own, taking on board an official of the Company; and for ten years they were to pay no import duties. Furthermore the Company promand to encourage immigrants to become their tenants it exempted their people but not the 'free' merchants or colonists for ten years from all obligation to pay taxes to the provincial government. No free colonist was to claim land within twenty-four

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ised to finish at once the fort on Manhattan and to put it in good posture of defence."

The progress of the colonization of New York establishing the Dutch settlement between the English colonists of Massachusetts and Virginia was regarded with great disfavor by the Government of England and when the home government of England was informed in 1635 that a Dutch ship bound for New Netherlands was lying at Cowes in the hope that by liberal offers of the West India Company English emigrants might be attracted, the Privy Council ordered that neither in this or any other Dutch vessel should British subjects be permitted to go to the Hollanders' plantation on Hudson River, and in 1637 the King strictly forbade the Governor and Council of Virginia to trade with their Dutch neighbors.

Thus early in the history of New York a race jealousy is apparent, that became more pronounced with the subsequent development of the colony, and was mainly responsible for the crisis that caused the unfortunate termination of Leisler's career.

That Leisler had but a rudimentary education is most probable from the development of education in New Amsterdam. The public schools established by the West India Company were the only educational facilities afforded in early days for rich and poor and were probably poorly conducted and lightly attended.

The first private school appeared about 1640 A.D., with a tuition fee of two beaver skins per annum for each scholar.

In Massachusetts, Harvard College was founded in 1636 and the Cambridge Printing Press was set in 1639, while New York was without a printing press until 1694.

These facts are important as establishing the probable accuracy of Washington Irving's portrayal of the stolid

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"1. Unsuitable government; 2. Scanty privileges and exemptions; 3. Onerous imposts, duties, exactions, and such like; 4. Long-continued war; 5. The loss of the 'Princess'; 6. A superabundance of petty traders and peddlers (Schotten en Chinezen), and a want of farmers and farm servants; 7. Great dearth in general; 8, and lastly, The insufferable arrogance of the natives or Indians arising from our smaller numbers, etc."

## Of Secretary Van Tienhoven they complained:

"He is crafty, subtile, intelligent, sharp-witted—good gifts when properly applied. . . . He is a great adept at dissimulation and even when laughing intends to bite. . . . In his words and acts he is loose, false, deceitful, and given to lying; prodigal of promises and when it comes to performance, nobody is at home."

## The petition ends:

"The country has arrived to that state that if it be not now assisted it will not need any aid hereafter because the English will wholly absorb it. As early as roso a great deal of friction appears to have arisen between the Dutch Governor, Peter Stuyvesant, and the patroons and the West India Company. The New Englanders accused the Dutch of nefarious dealings with the Indians, which they wished to have submitted to the judgment of the Governors of Massachusetts and Plymouth. The Trustee of the patroonship, Van Rensellaerwyck Vouter Van Twiller denied Stuyvesant's right to any authority within his patroonship and the ordinary colonists appeared to have arrived at a condition of great discontent with the administration of the West India Company and its exactions. This was evidenced by a lengthy protest signed by nine leading citizens, naming eight causes for the poor and most low conditions of New Netherlands.

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. . . It will lose even the name New Netherland and no Dutchmen will have anything to say there. . . . If your High Mightinesses please to believe us we say, and it is a moral certainty, . . . there will not be another opportunity or season to remedy New Netherland for the English will annex it."

As early as 1653 the New Englanders were complaining that the Dutch were inciting the Indians to kill all the English and a meeting was held in Boston in 1653 to consider this question. "When Connecticut and New Haven asked Cromwell to aid them in attacking New Netherland their story of Stuyvesant's plot with the Indians was believed in the mother-country and supported by a widely circulated pamphlet called the Second Part of the Amboyna Tragedy, or True Account of a Bloody, Treacherous, and Cruel Plot of the Dutch in America. Referring to the fact that in 1623 at Amboyna in the Spice Islands the Dutch had tortured into confession and then executed ten Englishmen and ten Javanese whom they accused of plotting to murder them, it said that their 'treacherous cruelty,' spreading from the East to the West Indies and thence to New Netherland, had resulted in a conspiracy to assassinate the New Englanders when gathered in their churches on a Sunday. Of course, it brought forth in Holland passionate rejoinders. To affirm such things of Stuyvesant and his people on the strength of an occurrence so remote in time and in place, said the West India Company, was an 'infamous lying libel' which would 'startle the devil in hell.' Scorning to answer the pamphlet the Company simply translated and printed it and scattered it broadcast to show, as it wrote to Stuyvesant when it sent him a manuscript copy, what 'stratagems' the English were willing to employ to irritate 'the whole world against the Dutch."

About 1656 the Dutch under Stuyvesant put to rout a Swedish settlement in South River, capturing their fort.

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The Dutch were led by Peter Stuyvesant with his trumpeter, Van Corlear, and the following array of combatants:

"There were the Van Wycks, and the Van Dycks, and the Ten Eycks, the Van Nesses, the Van Tassels, the Van Grolls, the Van Hoesens, the Van Ciesons. and the Van Blarcoms, the Van Warts, the Van Winkles, the Van Dams, the Van Pelts, the Van Rippers, and the Van Brunts. There were the Van Hornes, the Van Hooks, the Van Bunschotens: the Van Gelders, the Van Arsdales, and the Van Bummels, the Vander Belts, the Vander Hoofs, the Vander Voorts, the Vander Lyns, the Vander Pools, and the Vander Spiegels. There came the Hoffmans, the Hooghlands, the Hoppers, the Cloppers, the Ryckmans, the Dyckmans, the Hogebooms, the Rosebooms, the Gothouts, the Quackenbosses, the Roerbacks, the Garrebrantzs, the Bensons, the Brouwers, the Waldrons, the Onderdonks, the Varra Vangers, the Schermerhornzes, the Stoutenburghs, the Brinkerhoffs, the Vontecous, the Knickerbockers, the Hockstrassers, the Ten Breecheses, and the Tough Breecheses."

The architecture of New Amsterdam at this period is thus described by Irving:

"The houses of the higher class were generally constructed of wood, excepting the gable end, which was of small black and yellow Dutch bricks, and always faced on the street, as our ancestors, like their descendants, were very much given to outward show, and were noted for putting the best leg foremost. The house was always furnished with abundance of large doors and small windows on every floor; the date of its erection was curiously designated by iron figures on the front; and on the top of the roof was perched a fierce little weathercock, to let the family into the important secret which way the wind blew."

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And Irving thus described the manner of living at this period:

"In those happy days a well-regulated family always rose with the dawn, dined at eleven, and went to bed at sundown. Dinner was invariably a private meal, and the fat old burghers showed incontestable symptoms of disapprobation and uneasiness at being surprised by a visit from a neighbor on such occasions. But though our worthy ancestors were thus singularly averse to giving dinners, yet they kept up the social bands of intimacy by occasional ban-

quetings, called tea-parties.

"These fashionable parties were generally confined to the higher classes, or noblesse, that is to say, such as kept their own cows, and drove their own wagons. The company commonly assembled at three o'clock, and went away about six, unless it was in winter-time, when the fashionable hours were a little earlier, that the ladies might get home before dark. The tea-table was crowned with a huge earthen dish, well stored with slices of fat pork, fried brown, cut up into morsels, and swimming in gravy. The company being seated around the genial board. and each furnished with a fork, evinced their dexterity in launching at the fattest pieces in this mighty dish, in much the same manner as sailors harpoon porpoises at sea, or our Indians spear salmon in the lakes. Sometimes the table was graced with immense apple pies, or saucers full of preserved peaches and pears; but it was always sure to boast an enormous dish of balls of sweetened dough, fried in hog's fat, and called doughnuts, or olykoeks—a delicious kind of cake, at present scarce known in this city, excepting in genuine Dutch families "

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"The king gave the duke . . . a patent for Long Island, in the West Indies, and a tract of land between New England and Maryland, which always belonged to the crown of England since first discovered, and upon which the Dutch had encroached during the rebellion, and built a town and some forts to secure the beaver trade to themselves. The Duke of York, borrowing of the king two ships of war, sent Sir Richard Nicholas, groom of the bed-chamber and an old officer, with three hundred men to take possession of the country; which the Dutch gave up on composition, without being blockaded. . . . Colonel Nicholas remained there in peaceable possession of the country; and then called it New York and the Fort of River Albany."

The first English mention of New York is contained in a little pamphlet published in London in 1670 by Daniel Denton, entitled A Brief description of New York, formerly called New Netherlands:

"Daniel Denton, a son of Richard Denton a Presbyterian minister who had been one of the original patentees of Hempstead, was during the Dutch period town clerk of Hempstead and of Jamaica. In 1665 he was one of the deputies from Jamaica to the Hempstead meeting and one of the first justices appointed by Governor Nicolls. His book tells that it was published to attract settlers to a province which until recently had been 'new or unknown to the English.' Certainly this was true, for the edition of 1667 of Heylin's Cosmography

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ignores the fact that the province then belonged to England and says that it contained few people and 'only one village.' Denton's over-enthusiastic tone and the fact that he does not speak in detail of any part of the province except Long Island suggests that he was writing as a land agent on his own or his friend's behalf, yet his specific statements seem truthful. Of the city he says: New York is built most of brick and stone and covered with red and black tile, and the land being high it gives at a distance a pleasant aspect to the spectators. The inhabitants consist most of English and Dutch and have a considerable trade with the Indians for beaver, otter, raccoon skins, with other furs; and also for bear, deer, and elk skins; and are supplied with venison and fowl in the winter and fish in the summer by the Indians, which they buy at an easy rate. . . . On Long Island corn and cattle were the chief sources of livelihood. 'Store of flax' was grown, for 'every one' made 'their own linen' as well as woolen cloth and linsey-woolsey 'for their own wearing.' Had there been more artisans in the province it would soon have been able 'to live without the help of any other country' in the matter of clothing. All artisans lived 'happily' and persons who had no trade betook themselves to husbandry, got lands of their own, and lived 'exceeding well.' Along the southern shore of Long Island 'an innumberable multitude of seals,' which made 'an excellent oil,' lay all winter upon the 'broken marshes and beaches or bars of sand,' but the people had not yet learned how to hunt them although in small boats they captured the whales and 'crampasses' that numerously frequented the same coast. Wild fruits of many kinds were abundant—strawberries so plentiful that in June when the 'fields and woods' were 'dyed red' with them the country people, says Denton, . . . instantly arm themselves with bottles of wine, with red and black tile, and the land being high it gives at a distunce a pleasant aspect to the spectators. The inhabitants consist most of English Indians for beaver, otter, raccoon skins, with other cattle were the chief sources of livelihood. 'Store of flax' was grown, for 'every one' made 'their own linen' as well as woolen cloth and linsey-woolsey cream, and sugar and instead of a coat of mail every one takes a female upon his horse behind him, and so rushing violently into the fields, never leave until they have disrobed them of their red colors and turned them into the old habit. Only one passage need be quoted from Denton's laudations. He has not the land agent's accent when he says, in words that are pleasant to remember as an epitaph upon the forefathers of New York:

"'Were it not to avoid prolixity I could say a great deal more, and yet say too little, how free are those parts of the world from that pride and oppression with their miserable effects, which many, nay almost all parts of the world are troubled with, being ignorant of the pomp and bravery which aspiring humors are servants to, and striving after almost everywhere; where a wagon or cart gives as good content as a coach, and a piece of their home made cloth better than the finest lawns or richest silks; and though their low-roofed houses may seem to shut their doors against pride and luxury, yet how do they stand wide open to let charity in and out, whether to assist each other or relieve a stranger.

From the surrender in 1664 of New Amsterdam to the English to the uprising in 1689, which established Leisler in authority as acting Lieutenant-Governor for a brief period of two years, New York remained in the uninterrupted control of the English, though before the crisis in 1689 discontent with the rule of the British found expression in a remonstrance against the restrictions established by the English Governor, Andros. In 1675, Jacob Leisler, who was a leading member of the Dutch Church of New York, and Jacob Milborne, an Englishman of Albany, became involved in a religious controversy over the right of a minister ordained in the Church of England to administer the sacraments in a Dutch Church without the sanction of the classis of New

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From the surrender in 1664 of New Amsterdam to the English to the uprising in 1680, which established Leisler in authority as acting Lieutenant-Governor for a brief period of two years, New York remained in the uninterrupted control of the English, though before the crisis in 1680 discontent with the rule of the British found expression in a remonstrance against the restrictions established by the English Governor, Andros. In 1675, Jacob Leisler, who was a leading member of the Dutch Church of New York, and Jacob Milborne, an Englishman of Albany, became involved in a religious controversy over the right of a minister ordained in the Church of England to administer the sacraments in a Dutch Church without the sanction of the classis of New



Amsterdam. Ecclesiastical rights in danger meant to the apprehensive New Yorkers danger for all their other rights and privileges, and this quarrel was all the longer remembered because it brought for the first time into prominence in public affairs both Milborne and Leisler, two men who sixteen years later ended their lives in tragic partnership after figuring as leaders of the popular party during the most troublous times that the Province had seen. "Iacob Leisler, one of the many Protestant Germans who drifted from the Rhine countries into Holland during the middle years of the seventeenth century, was the son of a clergyman driven by persecution from the Palatinate to Frankfort-on-the-Main. A note attached to his name on a list of the West India Company's soldiers, as one of whom he came to New Amsterdam in 1660, shows that he was then in debt even for his musket, but, like Frederick Philipse who in later years was one of his bitter enemies, he soon prospered as a trader and in 1663 married a woman with money—Altye (Elsie) Tymans, a stepdaughter of Govert Lockermans, a niece of Annetje Jans, and widow of Pieter Van der Veen, whose business she carried on after his death. By the year 1660 Leisler was living in one of the best houses in the city, near the one that Governor Stuyvesant had built for himself, and owned several others on the principal streets. He was frequently employed in some minor or transient official capacity; and he stood seventh on Golve's list of the wealthier burghers."

He had become a prominent and leading citizen before the uprising of 1689, and is described as a merchant of very great dealings and very good reputation. In 1686 the people of Eastern Long Island had empowered him to petition Governor Dougan on their behalf with regard to their trading rights and practices and soon afterwards a number of Huguenots intending to come over from England employed him as their agent in the purchase of lands. He must have had a sympathetic and liberal disposition that endeared him to the plain

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people, as it is recorded that at his own expense he paid the ship charges of certain impecunious Huguenot emigrants who, according to the usage of the times for the collection of their expenses had been condemned to be sold into slavery. "The benevolent spirit of Leisler came between them and their fate. He did not wait till they should have suffered the humiliation of being exposed to sale like cattle, and then brand them with the doubtful obligation of being manumitted as his property. He forbade the sale by purchasing their freedom before it could begin, and the family thus rescued from this cruel species of degradation subsequently enrolled among its members some of the most valuable citizens of New York."

In these early days there appears to have been a marked distinction between the large land owners as were some of the English settlers in Long Island, and the patroons, and those who were building up fortunes by trading in furs with the Indians and traffic over the seas. To this latter class Leisler belonged.

Although his standing in the community was such that in certain documents the infrequent Dutch Sieur precedes his name, his chief adversaries, the landed proprietors and office holders under King James, hated him for his popularity among the people. It is clear he was not a man of much education, although he had probably learned something more than a hatred and dread of Catholics from his father who was a German clergyman. When he wrote in English, his results were so much worse than those of his semi-Dutch associates that they afford a clew to deciding whether or not he himself set down the things which have been attributed to his pen. I quote the following excerpt from a letter of Leisler's, to show his spelling and diction:

"'mest riars,' meaning Mr. Ryer Schermerhorn,
... desired some guns with iff your seemeth most
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But this is no proof of gross illiteracy. He had come as a grown man to a place where the prevailing language was Dutch and he was able to write, speak and understand English. He was sometimes rough, passionate and overbearing in manner, yet more than one anecdote proves his kindness of heart, his sympathy with the poor and afflicted; and the way in which he rose to power and kept his power shows that more than any man in New York he had won the people's confidence. While the conservative party could not have hated him more intensely, no man in his own party even when its fortunes seemed most desperate spoke of setting any one else above him.

In addition to his popularity as a citizen the people of New York had great confidence in Leisler as a military leader. The military force of the City of New York for the year 1689 consisted of five free companies embraced in a colonel's command. These citizen soldiers were, with the exception of a sergeant's guard of Royal troops, which garrisoned the fort, the only defense of the town.

Nicholas Bayard, commandant of his regiment, who likewise filled a prominent civil station, was deemed, if not hostile to the people, an adherent of the party loyal to King James.

Leisler was the eldest and most popular of the five captains who were ranked under Colonel Bayard and upon him the others with one consent conferred the full command when the moment for action had arrived.

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Charles II of England died in 1685, publicly avowing the Catholic faith, and his successor, his brother, James, Duke of York, was possessed with a desire for the establishment of Catholicism as the only means of insuring the obedience of his people, and his old love of France was strengthened by the firm reliance which he placed on the aid of Louis in bringing about that establishment. His accession to the throne was soon followed by the Argyle rising and the invasion of the Duke of Monmouth. The ill fate of these ventures and the terrible vengeance and the ruthless legal butchery of Monmouth's followers in the bloody circuit conducted by Chief Justice Jeffries was fresh in the minds of the colonists and on the abdication of James and the landing of William of Orange the authority of the old administration holding office under James appeared to have terminated, and the public mind in New York was filled with fear of Popish plots and French invasions.

The Dutch Protestant colonists of New York, while welcoming the accession of William of Orange to the throne of England, had great dread that the abdication of James would be followed by a French invasion brought about by the close alliance and friendship of Louis XIV with James. In fact, a French invasion had already been suggested by and negotiated between Louis XIV and Chevalier de Caliers, Governor of Montreal, who had urged the capture of New York by the French.

Wild rumors of Popish plots were rife and there was a report that certain men were organized within the walls of the town for the purpose of massacring the citizens in order to give proof of their adherence to King James. To avert these calamities the citizens turned to Jacob Leisler, a prominent merchant, and also a popular officer of the citizen soldiers, and prevailed upon him to assume command of the Citadel declaring for William of Orange.

On the 2nd of June, 1689, the people of New York, excited by the circumstances already detailed, assembled in arms, to protect themselves from the riots they expected to follow the overthrow of the government. By unanimous accord they determined upon Leisler as their leader and with crys of "Tot Leisler tot Leisler tot huys Leisler" (To Leisler, to Leisler, to the house of Leisler) proclaimed him in command.

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Leisler speedily armed himself and received the keys of the fort of which his townsmen had meanwhile taken possession. Shortly after Leisler was placed in command a meeting was had of delegates from the New York counties and New Jersey. The secretary of this committee was Abraham Gouverneur who was born in Amsterdam, in 1671, and was only eighteen years of age, when as Secretary of the Committee of Safety of New York he began a long public career of many vicissitudes.

On June 26 the envoys from Connecticut, Gold and Fitch, addressed to Leisler a letter of approval and advice, counseling him to remember the hellishly wicked and cruel Popish attempt on the powder magazine, to disarm all known Papists, and to repair the fort and the guns. The writers promised the aid of Connecticut should it be needed, urged the captains to wait patiently the orders and commands of the "never equalled, commended, and admired King William, the very best this lower world knows," and declared that justice required them to acknowledge the good service already done this sovereign by the noble and loyal Captain Leisler, whose loyalty, courage, prudence, pains and charge hath been great, and a special commission was issued to Leisler declaring "Captain Jacob Leisler shall be captain of the said fort till orders shall come from their Majesties and the said Leisler shall have all aid and assistance, if needed by and demanded by him from city and country to suppress any foreign enemy and prevent all disorders which evidently may arise."

No stirring events happened during the next few months. Leisler openly declared for William and Mary and sent a special messenger to proclaim their Majesties in East Jersey. This messenger was unfortunately drowned on his way back from Amboy and the records show that he was buried in great state. Gloves were given to every man and woman in the town to wear in attendance at his funeral. Flags were placed at half mast in the fort and on all the ships in the harbor, and the drums were kept beating mournfully until he was in

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his grave, but, the narrative proceeds, he left behind a good rich widow, who soon remarried thrice, and for her third husband she chose a man destined to go to his grave in a very different way from the first, William Kidd, the pirate.

Leisler proceeded to repair the fort and extend the defenses of the city, inspiring the people to long-continued diligence and even, says one of his own letters, enlisting the children, who in a single day collected more than a hundred loads of stones. He built a semi-circular redoubt bearing six guns for the defense of the landing of both rivers. This fort was long known as Leisler's Half Moon. It was the first of the works which afterwards gave the locality still called the Battery its name. Thus, says the affidavit of a New York seaman, Leisler provided for the safety and the defense of the country much better than the deponent had ever known done in the time of the three preceding governors. He put the city in such full posture of defense, declares the Dutch letter of 1698, that his name was respected everywhere in the West Indies, and New York had no need to fear any attack from abroad.

In the course of his administration Leisler had to exercise discipline over citizens who were disloyal and rebellious, but for a person of that period Leisler seems to have been remarkable for kindliness of disposition, as it appears that one prisoner was quickly released because his wife and son were sick. Another, sick himself, was sent home in a sedan chair "by order of the gaoler Leisler," and a certain Captain McKenzie, who was arrested because he landed on Manhattan secretly at night, accredits that Leisler and the committeemen treated him courteously "speaking with as much smoothness and civility as ever he had heard."

On the 16th of August the ten committeemen who had signed Leisler's commission signed a second one, extending his powers because, it says, the members who lived at a distance feared that they might not be able to stay in the city through the winter and no one knew when

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orders from England might come. Therefore, it was resolved that "Captain Jacob Leisler is hereby appointed to exercise and use the power and authority of a commander-in-chief of said province, to administer such oaths to the people, to issue out such warrants, and order such matters as may be necessary and requisite to be done for the preservation and protection of the peace of the inhabitants, taking always seasonable advice with militia and civil authority as occasion shall require."

This second promotion of Captain Leisler, say various affidavits, met with popular approval. But, as William Smith wrote at a later day, "his sudden investiture with supreme power and the prospect that King William might approve of his course, could not but excite the envy and jealousy of the late council and magistrates who had refused to join in the glorious work of the Revolution, and hence the spring of their aversion both to the man and his measures."

On August 17 an address to William and Mary was prepared by Edsall and Delancy for the committee of safety, declaring the loyalty of the province and describing the forming of the committee and its determination to defend the fort, which it had thoroughly repaired against all their Majesties' enemies. Leisler himself sent to their Majesties a long personal letter describing in detail the work on the fortifications, reciting the occurrences of the past months, and painting the loyal temper of the people.

Before the end of August Jacob Milborne returned from a voyage to Holland. Having recently been in England he assured the insurgents that the course of events there would certainly be held to justify their course in New York. From this time on he was Leisler's chief adviser, often his mouth-piece, unquestionably the instigator of many of the words and deeds for which the commander was most severely blamed.

A few months after Leisler assumed authority a town meeting was held and the following officers were elected: Peter Delancy was mayor, Johannes Johnson, sheriff, orders from England might come. Therefore, it was resolved that "Captain Jacob Leisler is hereby appointed to exercise and use the power and authority of a commander-in-chief of said province, to administer such oaths to the people, to issue out such warrants, and order such matters as may be necessary and requisite to be done for the preservation and protection of the peace of the inhabitants, taking always seasonable advice with militia and civil authority as occasion shall require."

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Peter Delancy was mayor, Johannes Johnson, sheriff,

and Abraham Gouverneur, town clerk, and the election of these officers was duly affirmed by Leisler and in an entry of record which says under the authority conferred upon him by the Committee of Safety he confirms the election of all the new officials and requires all the inhabitants of the city to yield them due obedience.

While Leisler's authority was established in New York it was not recognized at Albany where Bayard, the former commander of the train bands, and Van Courtlandt, the mayor, deprived of their offices, finding it impossible to raise a party against Leisler in New York turned their

attention to fomenting opposition to him.

When Milborne proceeded to Albany with three sloops and fifty men at arms to establish the government of Leisler he was met with a hostile reception and his commission with fifty signers empowering him to do all that might be requisite so that there would be no dispute at a moment when they "were upon such good terms of breaking the Papist and arbitrary yokes from our necks forever" was received with such disfavor that after excited town meetings at which Milborne exasperated the people to the point of riot by his aggressive language as recorded by Robert Livingston, Mayor Schuyler bid him depart with his seditious company.

In the meantime the secretary of King William—it not being known that Nicholson, who was succeeded by Leisler, had quitted his post—addressed a letter of

instructions:

"To our trusty and well-beloved Francis Nicholson, Esquire, our Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-chief of our Province of New York in America. And in his absence to such as for the time being take care for preserving the peace and administering the laws in our said Province of New York in America.

"As the King, he wrote, understood from the letters of Nicholson and the 'principal inhabitants' of New York that they were ready to receive his orders, he now informed them that he was taking

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"As the King, he wrote, understood from the letters of Nicholson and the 'principal inhabitants' of New York that they were ready to receive his orders, he now informed them that he was taking



such resolutions concerning their province as would insure the welfare of its inhabitants. Meanwhile he authorized and empowered the addressee . . . to take upon you the government of the said province, calling to your assistance in the administration thereof the principal free-holders and inhabitants of the same or so many of them as you shall think fit. Willing and requiring you to do and perform all things which to the place and office of our Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-chief of our Province of New York doth or may appertain as you shall find necessary for our service and the good government of our subjects according to the laws and customs of our said Province until further orders from us . . ."

Leisler came into possession of those letters. By similar letters King William had ordered those who might be in power in Massachusetts to continue the conduct of public affairs. He had directed the recipient of the letter to New York to take upon himself the conduct of affairs and to consider himself for the time being Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-chief. Leisler's only logical course, his only possible course, was either to acknowledge that the instructions were not meant for him and to vield all authority into the hands of Frederick Philipse. as the senior councillor or else to assume at once the new title and the full powers that they implied. This he did, all testimony indicates, with the entire approval of the Committee of Safety which he had thus far recognized as being the supreme authority in the province until royal commands should come, but while he had the loyal support of the faction that placed him in control, the hatred of the opposition was extreme and expressed in the violent language of the times. A writing of the time termed A Modest and Impartial Narrative, states: "The godmother of the Leisler administration was Ambition, the godfather Milborne, and both promised faithfully that he would cleave to the infernal prince and



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his works, as long as the many-headed beast the multitude would stand by him."

Unaware of the way in which his enemies were gaining ground in England, on January 7, 1690, Leisler wrote to the king, explaining his course, and how he had altered and was using the old seal of the province. He intended, he said, to defray his contingent expenses out of the revenue which he determined to collect, although sensible of great opposition. He declared that "cabals" were being held by Dongan, the former governor, at his house in Long Island, designing to retake the fort, and he asked that twenty-five cannon might be sent him and small-arms and ammunition in case the French would visit New York in the spring.

To defeat the plots that he found were being contrived for his overthrow, he had a supervision exercised over all correspondence and in this way got possession of letters showing conspiracies to overthrow his government and letters threating his assassination. In consequence of these discoveries he arrested Bayard, Nichols and others, but does not appear to have treated his

prisoners with harshness or severity.

In 1690 Leisler was further embarrassed by the necessity of heavily taxing his people for the purpose of making a contribution of military support to the Colonial expedition to protect the Colonies from an invasion by the French, as designed by Caliers under instruction of Louis XIV. This expedition met with an ill fate, being overtaken with an attack of smallpox near the head of Lake Champlain, and failing in receiving expected Indian support, was obliged to return to Albany. This again threw Leisler into fierce controversies with Winthrop, the leader of the expedition, whom he arrested. He had disputes with Robert Livingston and others, while intemperate speeches made by his representative, Milborne, increased the enmity against him that had already grown to great proportion.

It is not within the scope of this address to go further into all the details of the very numerous agitated happen-



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In 1090 Lessler was further embarrassed by the necessity of heavily taxing his people for the purpose of making a contribution of military support to the Colonial expedition to protect the Colonies from an invasion by the French, as designed by Caliers under instruction of Louis XIV. This expedition met with an ill fate, being overtaken with an attack of smallpox near the head of Lake Champlain, and failing in receiving expected Indian support, was obliged to return to Albany. This again threw Leisler into herce controversies with Winthrop, the leader of the expedition, whom he arrested. He had disputes with kobert Livingston and others, while intemperate speeches made by his representative, Milborne, increased the enmity against him that had already grown to great proportion

It is not within the scope of this address to go further into all the details of the very numerous agitated happen-



ings of Leisler's governship. In January, 1601, Colonel Henry Sloughter arrived in New York with a formal commission as a governor. Sloughter had sailed from England with a military force and two ships, one under Major Richard Ingoldsby, containing the military force. In a storm the ships separated, and Ingoldsby being first to land, demanded possession of the Fort. This was refused by Leisler and his adherents, who proclaimed "that they will not be turned from duty to God and the King by fear of the term rebels hurled against them for fairly offering that all things will remain until the arrival of the Governor or further orders from England. Therefore, we not being willing to deliver ourselves and our posterity to such slavery do hereby reserve to the utmost of our power to oppose the same by joining and assisting the Lieutenant-Governor and one another to the hazard of our lives."

Ingoldsby and his force were much disconcerted by the long detention of Sloughter, but on the nineteenth day of March, 1691, Sloughter arrived. Vindictive enemies of Leisler had gotten in communication with him before he appeared at New York, and he arrived on the scene with enmity in his heart against Leisler. As soon as he was satisfied of Sloughter's authority, Leisler handed over the Fort with the following letter:

"The joy I had by a full assurance from Ensign Stoll of your Excellency's arrival has been somewhat troubled by the detention of two of my messengers. I see now well the stroke of my enemies, who are wishing to cause me some mistakes at the end of the loyalty I owe to my gracious King and Queen, and by such ways to blot out all my faithful service till now. But I hope to have cause not to commit such error, having, by my duty and faithfulness, been rigorous to them.

"Please only to signify and order the Major, in relieving me from his majesty's fort, that, when delivering up to him his majesty's arms, and all his stores, he may act as he ought with a person



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"Please only to signify and order the Major, in relieving me from his majesty's fort, that, when delivering up to him his majesty's arms, and all his stores, he may act as he ought with a person



who shall give your Excellency an exact account of all his actions and conduct; who is, with all respect, your Excellency's most humble servant,

"JACOB LEISLER."

Leisler's surrender was not received in a gracious spirit. Sloughter instantly threw him into prison, together with nine others of his friends, and a special commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued to try the prisoners for rebellion, and Sloughter named eight judges to conduct the trial, who were selected from Leisler's enemies. Leisler when arraigned, objected to the charge of high treason, and refused to plead on the ground he was not holden to plead to the indictment until the power be determined whereby such things had been acted.

The trial was quickly followed by a conviction, and the customary sentence of that period was rendered. It was ordered that Leisler and Milborne should be "carried to the place from whence they came and from thence to the place of execution, that they be severally hanged by the neck and being alive, their bodies be cut down to the earth, that their bowels be taken out and they being alive, burned before their faces, that their heads shall be severed from their bodies, cut into four parts, which shall be disposed of as their Majesties should assign."

It appears that Sloughter had some misgivings as to signing the warrant for the execution of this sentence. The enemies of Leisler, when no other measure could prevail with the Governor, invited Sloughter to a feast on occasion of his intended voyage to Albany, and when his Excellency's reason was drowned in his cups the entreaties of the company prevailed upon him to sign the death warrant.

On the scaffold Leisler and Milborne bore themselves with courage and dignity. Milbourne, who charged his fate principally to the contrivings of Robert Livingston, addressed him in the following language:—"Robert

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Livingston, I will implead thee at the bar of Heaven for this deed." Leisler, however, appears to have been moved at the untimely fate of his son-in-law, in addressing him says, "Why must you die? You have been but as a servant doing my will, and, as a dying man, I declare, before God, that what I have done was for King William and Queen Mary, the defence of the Protestant religion, and the good of the country."

It is doubtful if the gruesome sentence was carried out in its entirety, but it appears from the condition in which Leisler's corpse was found when it was disinterred for honorable burial that his head was cut off before life had been extinct as his hand was in a position to ward

off the executioner's blow.

In 1695 an Act reversing the attainder at the instance of the son of Leisler was passed by the English Parliament with the following preamble:

"WHEREAS, in the late happy revolution, the inhabitants of the Province of New York did, in their General Assembly, constitute and appoint Captain Jacob Leisler to be Commander-in-Chief of the said Province, until their Majesties' pleasure should be known therein; and the said Jacob Leisler was afterwards confirmed in the said command by his Majesty's letter dated, &c., and the said Jacob Leisler having the administration of the said government of New York, by virtue of the said power and authority so given and confirmed to him as aforesaid, and being in the exercise thereof, Captain Ingoldsby, arriving in the Province in the month of January, A. D. 1691, did, without producing any legal authority, demand of the said Jacob Leisler the possession of the fort at New York; but the said Iacob Leisler, pursuant to the trust in him reposed, refused to surrender the said fort into the hands of the said Richard Ingoldsby, and kept the possession thereof until the month of March following; at which time Colonel Henry Sloughter, being constituted Captain-general and Governor-in-chief

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This narrative is a mere outline of the life of Leisler. Modern research has brought to light so many documents and papers bearing on the early history of New York that an exhaustive review of the many exciting episodes during the life of Leisler, and the controversies as to the motives that inspired his action, would fill a large volume and could not possibly be condensed into a readable paper.

I am indebted for most of my material to the very exhaustive *History of the City of New York*, in two volumes, by Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, and also to an article on the administration of Jacob Leisler by Charles Fenno Hoffman, published in 1836 in Sparks' *American* 

Biography.

My own view of the career of Leisler is that he was a brave and honest man, the victim of the excited passions and revengeful inclination of the people of the period in which he lived. It is impossible to say whether his fate would have been different if he had had the counsel of a less impetuous and impulsive secretary than was his son-in-law, Milborne, but that Leisler was honest in his intentions and lost his life through his faithful adherence to the Protestant cause and loyalty to his fellow-citizens, who had selected him as their leader, I think there can be no doubt.

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# William Relson,

ACTING GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, 1770-71.

By Samuel Davis Page. Read October 5, 1914.

When our genial host proposed that I should read a paper on one of my five ancestors, other than Roger Williams, at this meeting tonight, I strenuously demurred to his suggestion; thinking, first, that I must have exhausted the patience of the Council by the long paper that I had read upon perhaps the most distinguished of the six governors under whose names I entered our Society; and, secondly, because I knew that other gentlemen of the Council of the same ancestry had written upon Governor Shippen, and that one of them desired to write at some future time on Governor Carter, and that, therefore, what I might be able to prepare for this evening must be founded upon any records which might have been left by Governor Carr, Governor Greene or Governor Nelson, and as I possessed nothing of these records, I feared that in the little time at my disposal it would be impossible for me to do justice to any of the subjects to which I was thus confined: I think that under the circumstances and the difficulties of the situation I showed great weakness of character and too great complacency in acceding to my young friend's demand.

Upon looking over such references as came to hand from the Library of the Historical Society respecting my two other New England ancestors, Carr and Greene, I felt that the conditions presented in my paper on Governor Williams were so similar in the cases of these, his two successors in the governorship of Rhode Island, that it was likely that I might fail in interesting the Council in anything that I might prepare respecting them, while the life and struggles of Dr. John Greene,



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#### WILLIAM NELSON

father of Lt. Gov. Greene, to which reference must surely have been made, were so like those of Roger Williams that I really feared, though equally proud of his courage, fortitude, persistence and devotion in the cause of religion and truth which were quite as marked as in the case of Roger Williams, that what I might say would prove a twicetold tale; and so my mind naturally turned from the contemplation of the hardships, endurance and determination of those men amid natural surroundings, often difficult to surmount and frequently imperiling their great effort to build a home and keep it for "distressed consciences", as Roger Williams suggested, to the more attractive civilization which had been brought from perhaps a higher social circle in England to the tidewater of Virginia during the century preceding the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776.

The attempt at colonizing Virginia in the seventeenth century and in the early part of the eighteenth century met, of course, with many misadventures, and the need of those colonists for labor in the development of the country led to the importation of many perhaps whose room in the mother country was vastly better than their company, but yet most of those in charge of that movement were men of the highest character and actuated by as lofty motives as those others who, with my ancestors, had settled in New England during the seventeenth century, having brought with them to the shores of the James and the York the manners, customs and social atmosphere of the drawing-rooms of London, to which often they returned as welcome guests.

Of these men, William Nelson, to whom I desire to direct your attention this evening, was one of the most attractive, and by his life, directly in his own person, and indirectly in his descendants, had the most marked effect in preserving in that part of Virginia the best traditions of the English gentleman, living as had their forbears at home and bearing themselves as though mindful of the duties and obligations resting on them,

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cions in which they were placed.

William Nelson's father was Thomas Nelson, of Yorktown, Virginia, who was the son of Hugh Nelson, of Penrith, County of Cumberland, England, and Sarah his wife, being born at Penrith on February 20, 1677. Thomas Nelson emigrated to the Colony of Virginia about 1700, and died in 1745, aged sixty-eight years, at Yorktown, Virginia, where his remains lie in the grave-yard of the Episcopal Church, under a mausoleum bearing his coat-of-arms, which is almost identical with that of the Nelsons of Yorkshire, England, a fact perhaps accounting for the importation of the names of Yorktown and York County into Virginia. On this tombstone is written:

"Here lieth, in the certain hope of being raised up in Christ, Thomas Nelson, Gentleman, Son of Hugh and Sarah Nelson, of Penrith, in the County of Cumberland; Born on the 20th day of February in the Year of our Lord, 1677. He completed a well-spent life on the 7th day of October, 1745, aged sixty-eight."

He founded Yorktown in 1705, building there a wooden house first, and afterwards a brick house, which is said to have been situated not far from the house today

pointed out as the Nelson House.

Thomas Nelson married, about 1710, Margaret Reid, and had three children by her, of whom the eldest was William Nelson, and the youngest Thomas Nelson; the first being known as President Nelson and the last as Secretary Nelson, thus founding two distinct lines of the Nelson family which are well known and marked in the genealogical records of their descendants; in all of whose veins there seemed to flow, with the blood of these two ancestors, the sterling qualities and refining influences which distinguished both President Nelson and his brother, Secretary Nelson. The second child of the first named Thomas Nelson was Mary Nelson, who married

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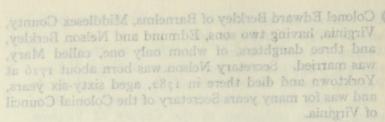
Colonel Edward Berkley of Barnelms, Middlesex County, Virginia, having two sons, Edmund and Nelson Berkley, and three daughters, of whom only one, called Mary, was married. Secretary Nelson was born about 1716 at Yorktown and died there in 1782, aged sixty-six years, and was for many years Secretary of the Colonial Council of Virginia.

William Nelson was born in Yorktown, York County, Virginia, in 1711, and died there on the 19th of November, 1772, aged sixty-one years, being buried in the Episcopal Churchyard there under a tombstone bearing

this remarkable inscription:

"Here lies the body of the Honourable William Nelson, Esquire, late President of His Majesty's Council in this Dominion. In whom the love of man and the love of God so restrained and enforced each other and so invigorated the mental powers in general as not only to defend him from the vices and follies of his country but also to render it a matter of difficult decision in what part of laudable conduct he excelled-Whether in the tender and endearing accomplishments of domestic life or in the more active duties of a wider circuit. As a neighbour, a gentleman or a magistrate whether in the graces of hospitality, or in the possession of piety. Reader if you feel the spirit of that excellent ardour which aspires to the felicity of conscious virtue animated by those consolations and divine admonitions, perform the task and expect the distinction of the righteous man. He died the 19th of November, Anno Domini 1772. Aged 61."

Bishop Meade said that he was called "President Nelson because so often President of the Council, and at one time President of the Colony." He became Governor of the Colony in 1770 upon the withdrawal of Norborne Berkley, Lord de Botetourt, Governor of Virginia from 1768 to 1770, and before the coming of John, Lord Dunmore, under commission from the Crown, who





continued acting under that commission from 1772 to 1776, his conduct under it, however, awakening such opposition that he was obliged to take refuge on board a British man-of-war off Yorktown, in June, 1775, and was thereupon declared by the General Council to have abdicated his office, which he endeavored, unsuccessfully, to regain by force of arms in the following year; but we find no record of any antagonism to the action of Governor Nelson in his discharge of the duties of the Governorship between the tenures of these two English noblemen.

President William Nelson married, in February, 1738, Elizabeth (known as Betty), only daughter of Nathaniel Burwell, of Gloucester County, Virginia, and Elizabeth Carter his wife, she being the second daughter of Robert Carter, known as "King Carter," and Judith Armistead his first wife. William Nelson had six children, of whom the eldest was Thomas Nelson. Thomas Nelson was born at Yorktown, December 26, 1738, and died January 4, 1789, aged fifty-one years, having married, on July 26, 1762, Lucy Grimes, and lived a life of which his descendants are justly proud.

Thomas Nelson went to Eton School and afterwards to Trinity College, Cambridge, and before his return home, when just twenty-one he was chosen to the House of Burgesses in Virginia. He was a member of the Williamsburg Convention in 1774, the Convention of 1775, the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1776, and was in Congress in 1776-7 and 1770; he was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; he served as Colonel and afterwards as Major-General in the American Revolution; he pledged his own fortune for the cause of the Revolution, when bankers declined to loan money to the State but expressed their willingness to loan him all that he might require; which advances ultimately aggregated over \$2,000,000, the payment of which really impoverished him, his descendants never receiving compensation therefor, either from the State of Virginia or the Congress of the United States.

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At the Siege of Yorktown, when Lord Cornwallis was supposed to have his Headquarters in his house, Thomas Nelson ordered the bombardment to be vigorously continued, as he noticed some hesitation on the part of the gunners in firing upon it, causing the absolute destruction of his home!

The father of these two men, Thomas Nelson, known as "Scotch Tom" because he came from Penrith near to the Scotch border, succeeded in making a large fortune in merchandise, and his son William, the subject of this sketch, adding to his share of that fortune by the accumulations of many years of successful mercantile venture, purchased large estates and became a great landed proprietor. He was a member of His Majesty's Council of Virginia and President of that body, as his epitaph proclaims, and became, as I have said, Governor of Virginia between the terms of Lord Botetourt and Lord Dunmore. He also presided over the General and Supreme Court of the Province and was said to be one of the ablest judges of his time. His manner of living is shown by a casual statement in a letter from him to a friend, that he had just bought Lord Baltimore's six white coach horses and meant to give his own six black ones a run in Hanover Meadows.

The Standard, of Saturday, September 25, 1880, speaking of the honored names in Virginia, said:

"Not one has been invested with more worth and renown than that of Nelson, not only in the noble deeds of its representatives which have illuminated the history of the Old Dominion for quite two centuries, but also in the exemplification of their characteristic social virtues which have charmingly embellished her domestic annals as well."

In colonial times there were settled along the tidewater of Virginia, especially on the York and the James Rivers, many families of like origin and training, of similar ideals and development, of kindred culture and association, whose names are embedded in the early history of

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The Standard, of Saturday, September 23, 1880, speaking of the honored names in Virginia, said:

"Not one has been invested with more worth and renown than that of Narson, not only in the moble deeds of its representatives which have illuminated the history of the Old Dominion for quite two centuries, but also in the exemplification of their characteristic social virtues which have charmingly embellished her domestic annals as well."

In colonial times there were settled along the tidewater of Virginia, especially on the York and the James Rivers, many families of like origin and training, of similar ideals and development, of lendred culture and association, whose names are embedded in the early history of

Virginia: the Carters, the Byrds, the Pages, the Berkleys, and many others whose virtues as a community far outweighed their vices, if any; of these people John Fiske, a typical Yankee, says, in his *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, at page 267:

"On the whole, it was a noble type of rural gentry that the Old Dominion had to show. Manly simplicity, love of home and family, breezy activity, disinterested public spirit, thorough wholesomeness and integrity—such were the features of the society whose consummate flower was George Washington."

It may be well to note here that the government of Virginia was called "a Crown Government" because the governor and the council were appointed by the Crown. It was not a despotism because there was an Assembly elected by the people, without whose consent no taxes could be assessed or collected; the bond of connection with the Mother Country was loose but real: while in Massachusetts the Governor and all the Council and Assembly were elected by the people, so that the administration could move on quite independently of any action in England. In the Proprietary Governments the Lord Proprietor stepped into the place of the Crown, while a charter, which might be forfeited in case of abuse, made it impossible for him to become an absolute monarch, Fiske citing in his book already quoted, as an example: "Cecelius Calvert and his heirs for five generations carried on, in the government of Maryland, almost, if not really, a hereditary constitutional monarchy;" which of course was not the case in Virginia.

Gov<sup>r</sup> William Nelson's fifth child, William Nelson, was born in Yorktown about 1754, and died in 1813, aged fifty-nine years, and was buried at Yorktown. His second wife was Abby, daughter of Colonel William Byrd, 3d, of Westover on the James River, Charles City County, Virginia, and Mary Willing, of Philadelphia, his wife, she being the daughter of Charles Willing and his wife Maria, who was the granddaughter of Edward

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Shippen, late Lieut. Governor of Pennsylvania and first Mayor of Philadelphia. This William Nelson had four children, Mary, who married Pickens of South Carolina; Abbie Byrd and Rosalie Nelson, neither of whom married and both of whom I well remember as the charming hostesses of the Cottage, so called, just under the shadow of the Episcopal Church in Millwood, Clarke County, Virginia: Lucy Nelson, who married Harrison, of Brandon, on the James River, Charles City County, Virginia, and Evelyn Byrd Nelson, who married, in 1813, William Byrd Page, of Pagebrook, Clarke County, Virginia, who was the oldest son of John Page and Maria Horsmanden Byrd, his wife, she being also the daughter of the same William Byrd, of Westover, and Mary Willing, his wife, who were the parents of Evelyn Byrd Nelson's mother, Abby Byrd.

Evelyn Byrd Nelson Page had three children, of whom the second was Dr. William Byrd Page, born May 27, 1817, who came to Philadelphia about 1836 to study medicine and married there on November 29, 1839, Celestine Anna, daughter of Samuel Davis and Maria Clarissa Vidal, his wife, both of Louisiana. I was born September 22, 1840, as oldest child of that marriage.

My greatgrandfather, William Nelson, was major, lieutenant-colonel and colonel of one of the regiments of the Virginia line during the Revolution, was at one time president of the College of William and Mary, at Williamsburg, Virginia, and was Judge of the District Court of that District, and hence known as Judge Nelson, and often called Uncle Billy Nelson. Thomas Nelson Page, American Ambassador at Rome, traces his lineage through my greatgrandfather's elder brother, Thomas Nelson, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, he and I being each seventh in descent from Colonel John Page, who was born in England in 1627, emigrated to Virginia about 1650, died January 23, 1602, and was buried in Bruton Churchyard, Williamsburg, Virginia, "in the hope of a joyful resurrection", as is quaintly vouched for on his tombstone.

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ACTING GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, 1749-50.

By Edmund Jennings Lee, M.D.

Read December 8, 1914.

Thomas Lee was a grandson of the Richard Lee who emigrated to the colony of Virginia in the year 1640; he has been described as "a man of good stature and comely visage; of enterprising genius and sound head; a vigorous spirit and a generous nature."

Of this Richard Lee and other early emigrants to the colonies, the true founders of this republic, Mr. Alexander Brown, of Virginia, from extensive researches into colonial records, came to the following conclusion:

"The case of our patriotic founders has been misrepresented for over two hundred and fifty years and has become so entirely misunderstood that it cannot be corrected suddenly.

"The idea of a liberal government for America developed during the must remarkable transition period in English history and although this idea was bitterly opposed by James the First and the Court party, it received the support of some of the greatest patriots, statesmen, politicians, business men, soldiers and broad-minded churchmen of the day."

### Mr. Brown continues:

"It must be noted that James I did not possess a foot of land in the large territory granted by his charters, and especially that he did not bind the Crown to procure this land for the colonists. The great American wilderness in which the patriots proposed to 'erect a free popular state'—whose inhabitants were to have 'no government putt upon

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"The acquiring and settlement of these lands could could only be attained with sufficient pain, peril and expense to justly entitle the body politic to the liberal charters granted by the crown in perpetuity. And it was for the sake of these rights, undaunted by the terrors of the Atlantic, by the power of Spain, by the climate and the savages,—in the face of every difficulty, disaster and political opposition—that the true foundation of this Nation was laid. 'Give me liberty or give me death' was the inspiration of this foundation as well as the battle cry of our Revolution."

Thomas Lee and his contemporaries belong to the prerevolutionary period of American history; the sons of the men of his generation were the soldiers and statesmen of the war and the creators of our government.

The personal history of Thomas Lee is scant; he is known rather by the reputation of his sons than by any record of his own achievement.

"... Perhaps no other Virginian could boast of so many distinguished sons as President Lee"—wrote Campbell in his *Introduction to the History of Virginia*. A brief sketch of Thomas Lee was written in 1771 by one of his sons, then residing in London, to an English connection.

"Thomas, the fifth son, though with none but a common Virginia education, yet having strong natural parts, long after he was a man, learned the languages without any assistance but his own genius, and became a tolerable adept in Latin and Greek. . . . This Thomas by his industry and parts acquired them but by their own consente'—was thousands of miles away across the vast ocean, inhabited by wild Indians, and claimed by Spain. The pioneers had to acquire the land from these owners and claimants by purchase, by diplomacy or by force, and settle it,—at the expense of their own blood and treasure, unassisted by the crown of Great Britain.

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a considerable fortune; for being a younger son, with many children, his paternal estate was small. He was appointed of the Council, and though he had few acquaintance in England, he was so well known by reputation, that upon receiving a loss by fire, the late Queen Caroline sent him over a bountiful present out of her own Privy Purse. Upon the late Sir William Gooch's being recalled, he became President of the Council (13th October, 1749), and commander-in-chief over the Colony; in which station he continued for some time, until the King thought proper to appoint him Governor, but he dyed in 1750, before the commission got over to him."

In addition to this filial tribute, there exist private letters and public documents, showing that Thomas Lee held many important positions, during a period in which the colony was strong in men of marked ability.

In May, 1744, Thomas Lee and William Beverley were appointed by the Governor commissioners to treat with the Iroquois Indians for the settlement of lands west of the Alleghany Mountains. Governor Gooch wrote:

"Whereas of late some misunderstandings and differences have arisen between His Majesty's Subjects of this Dominion and the Six United Nations of Indians, and being induced by several Representatives and Messages interchanged, to believe that they are desirous to enter into Treaty with this Government, &c. &c. . . . Know Ye that I reposing special Trust, &c. in the experience, Loyalty, Integrity and Abilities of Thomas Lee Esqr. a member in Ordinary of His Majestys hon'ble Council of State, and one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Adju lication in this Colony, and of William Beverly Esqr. Col: and County Lieutenant of the County of Orange and one of the Representatives of the People in the House of Burgesses of this

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Colony and Dominion of Virginia, &c., . . . Have, &c. nominated and Constituted the said Thomas Lee and William Beverley Commissioners &c. to meet the Six Nations or such Sachems &c. as shall be deputed to them. &c. . . . at Newtown in Lancaster Co. Province of Pennsylvania.' (I, Va. Calendar State Papers, 238.)

William Black, a Scotchman, accompanied this commission as secretary and left a diary in which he gave a very spirited account of their journey from Virginia to Philadelphia. Among other items, he thus describes Philadelphia of that period:

"Sunday, 3rd. June. I went to Christ Church, where we heard a very good sermon. This church is a very stately building, but not yet finished. . . . I was not a little surprised to see such a number of fine women in church, as I had never heard Philadelphia noted extraordinary that way; but I must say since I have been in America I have not seen so fine a collection at one place and time. After the service, went with Col. Taylor, Mr. Lewis and others of the Levee to the Commissioners's lodgings; we found Col. Lee ready to go to Mr. Andrew Hamilton's where we were invited to dine this day. About quarter after one o'clock we had dinner, and I do assure you a very fine one; but as I am not able to draw up a bill of fare, I shall only say that we had very near 18 dish of meat, besides a very fine collation. After this was over it was time to think of going to church for the afternoon; accordingly most of our young company with myself, went in order to visit the Reverend Mr. Gilbert Tennant, whose followers are called the New Lights; we found him delivering his doctrine with a very good grace; split his text as judiciously, turned up the whites of his eyes as theologically, cuff'd his cushion as orthodoxic, and twist'd his Band as primitively, as his Master Mr.

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The commission appointed by Governor Gooch to treat with the Indians met at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in June, 1744, and finally made a treaty with the Six Nations, the most powerful coalition of Indians in America. A Mr. Witham Marshe, a secretary, wrote an account of these meetings, which was published by Benjamin Franklin. From this book, the introductory sentences of Thomas Lee's speech are given:

"Sachims and Warriors of the Six United Nations, "We are now come to answer what you said to us Yesterday, since what we said to you before on the Part of the Great King, our Father, has not been Satisfactory. You have gone into old Times, and so must we. It is true that the Great King holds Virginia by Right of Conquest, and the Bounds of that Conquest to the Westward is the Great Sea.

"If the Six Nations have made any Conquests over Indians that may at any Time have lived on the West-side of the Great Mountains of Virginia. yet they never possessed any Lands there that we ever heard of. That part was altogether deserted, and free for any People to enter upon, as the People of Virginia have done, by Order of the Great King, very justly, as well as by an ancient Right, and by its being freed from the Possession of any other. and from any Claim even of you the Six Nations, our Brethren, until within these eight Years. The first Treaty between the Great King, in behalf of his Subjects of Virginia, and you, that we can find, was made at Albany by Col. Henry Coursey, Seventy Years since: this was a Treaty of Friendship when the first Covenant Chain was made, when we and you became Brethren."

As a result of these conferences, large grants of land "to the Westward of the Mountains" were given by the

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Six Nations; this grant was probably in the present states of Ohio and West Virginia. For the settlement of this land, "The Ohio Company" was formed; Washington Irving said:

"Mr. Thomas Lee, president of the Council in Virginia, took the lead in the concerns of the company and by many has been considered its founder. He was certainly its first president, and was succeeded, at his death, by Laurence Washington."

Thomas Lee resided at Stratford on the Potomac in Westmoreland county, Virginia; he built the mansion somewhere about 1729. Stratford house with its solid walls and massive, rough-hewn timbers, represents strength and solidity rather than elegance or comfort. The house is built in the shape of the letter H, the cross line being a large hall room of some twenty-five by thirty feet, serving as the connecting link between the two wings. Perhaps no other mansion in America can claim the historic interest of Stratford as in it two Signers of the Declaration of Independence were born; there also was born Robert E. Lee, an event well worthy of being the last act in life of any mansion.

Thomas Lee married Hannah Ludwell, daughter of Philip Ludwell, an associate in the Council; they had eleven children, three daughters and eight sons. Several of the sons were active and efficient in the service of the Colonies. Of them, President John Adams wrote in

after life:

# "Quincy, 11 August, 1819.

"I thank you for your oration on the red-letter day in our national calendar, which I have read with mingled emotions. An invisible spirit seemed to suggest to me, in my left ear, 'Nil admirari, nil contemnere;' another spirit, at my right elbow, seemed to whisper in my ear, 'Digito compesce labellum.' But I will open my lips, and will say that your modesty and delicacy have restrained you

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from doing justice to your own name, that band of brothers, intrepid and unchangeable, who, like the Greeks at Thermopylæ, stood in the gap, in the defense of their country, form the first glimmering of the Revolution in the horizon, through all its

rising light, to its perfect day.

"Thomas [Ludwell] Lee, on whose praises Chancellor Wythe delighted to dwell, who has often said to me that Thomas Lee was the most popular man in Virginia, and the delight of the eves of every Virginian, but who would not engage in public life: Richard Henry Lee, whose merits are better known and acknowledged, and need no illustration from me; Francis Lightfoot Lee, a man of great reading well understood, of sound judgment, and inflexible perseverance in the cause of this country; William Lee, who abandoned an advantageous establishment in England from attachment to his country, and was able and faithful in her service: Arthur Lee, a man of whom I cannot think without emotion; a man too early in the service of his country to avoid making a multiplicity of enemies; too honest, upright, faithful, and intrepid to be popular; too often obliged by his principles and feelings to oppose Machiavellian intrigues, to avoid the destiny he suffered. This man never had justice done him by his country in his lifetime, and I fear he never will have by posterity. His reward cannot be in this world." (Life and Works of John Adams, X, 382.)

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## Colonial Times.

By Sydney George Fisher.

Read at the Annual Dinner March 6, 1915.

Governors:—I always feel some awe in addressing even one governor. How much more in addressing so many; and such fine and seasoned governmental and executive blood that has stood the test of time, survived and come down through two hundred years!

The last time I appeared before a governor of any sort, I believe I was asking for a pardon for a person who was supposed to have broken the laws. Tonight I am asking pardon only for myself and my own shortcomings.

I have no governmental blood in my veins. My people in Connecticut and Pennsylvania in colonial times were, so far as I know, usually the raw material your ancestors governed so well; the masses, the populace, you controlled. Possibly I can rise out of these masses into some individuality by the fact that my people in Connecticut and Rhode Island had the right to vote for governors, and very likely voted for or against some of your ancestors. That privilege of electing the governor was allowed only in Connecticut and Rhode Island, and for a time in Massachusetts. In all the others the governor was appointed by the crown or by the proprietor, as in Pennsylvania. So in a sense I may have created or helped to create colonial governors; and the creator should have some near approach to equality with the created.

Possibly I can raise myself nearer to your level by one of my ancestors, who was for a long time Secretary of Pennsylvania in colonial days, who disputed and quarrelled with the legislature for many years and usually got the better of them. That all sounds somewhat gubernatorial. The man that can worry a legislature into doing

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what he wants can surely claim some sympathy from governors.

Possibly in these ways I may have gained some standing here tonight, and can assure myself that no advantage will be taken of my youth and innocence.

There seem to be various new kinds of dinners nowadays. Not long ago an invitation told me that a certain dinner was to be a pastoral dinner. I do not know yet what it means. Pastoral might mean rural or very simple; or it might possibly mean clerical, an invitation from Billy Sunday, to give him a chance to convince you of sin. There was a deal of that sort of thing in colonial times-convincing people of sin and torturing them with it. I suppose my people in Connecticut were put through it many a time. I never could take kindly to it, largely, I suppose, because my Quaker people here in Pennsylvania were very little troubled with those fanati-They wore plain clothes, so called, but of the richest stuffs they could buy; and they ate and drank the best of everything, as governors always do and should do

I like to think of colonial times; the little aristocratic courts, with much charming, but simple, ceremony and very gay clothes, which your governor ancestors held at each seat of government, excepting Connecticut and Rhode Island, where, I rather think, my people may have voted you out of such luxuries, or, at any rate, limited them. I like to think of all that sort of life—a narrow fringe of it along the sea coast, flowering and flourishing in the abundance and freshness of the wilderness. That was one of the remarkable things about it; that the wilderness of the great forests and wild animals and birds was at the back doors of all of them; and yet they had beautiful architecture in their houses, which we cherish and imitate with difficulty; fine furniture of faultless taste, which we collect and copy, and gay and brilliantlycolored clothes. Mix in with that the stern, sombre, and even cruel, religion in the North, and the lavish fox-hunting and saddle-horse plantation and slave-ownwhat he wants can surely claim some sympathy from governors,

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ing aristocracy of the South, and you have the combination, the roots and sources which have made us what we are today. You governors must be an epitome of it.

I have just returned from some weeks in the Florida wilderness, just above the Everglades, where I lived the old colonial life, associated with cattle rangers, cut firewood, waded through the swamps and hunted the game. It put me in a mood to appreciate the colonists. Afterwards I went among some settlers who were taking up, homesteading, as it is called, some wild land. It also was like the old colonial life of joyous freedom, happy labor, wholesome hardships, with oxen, axes and the simplest things of life, with no conveniences, as they are called. The day will soon come, I suppose, when there will be no more chances for that sort of life anywhere in this country; no more chance to see the peculiar exuberance of certain fine qualities in human nature which that life produces: no more chance to live over again for a time the old colonial life. I have often, I am glad to say, been in such scenes; their memory is precious; and I have always drawn the same conclusion, that they made this nation what it is. As day by day passes and your skin burns in the sun and you sink to sleep in luxurious fatigue at seven o'clock in the evening, you seem to see pass before you the whole procession of the origin of typical American qualities, and you understand history as you never understood it before.

That was the school that produced the men of the Revolution and the Constitution, that produced the ideas of liberty, union and self-government that have saved us from the catastrophe that blazes up to heaven on the other side of the Atlantic. That was the school that gave us a Washington and a Franklin, and the men who made our Constitution and established the ideas and principles by which we still live and to which we finally revert for guidance in every difficulty. It is by those ideas and those men, the product of the simple colonial days and governors, that we have been judged in the past and given our place in the world It is because of those ideas and

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men that warring nations in Europe, older than us in civilization, seek our favorable opinion, and are uneasy at the possibility of our rebuke.

Long after our millions and multi-millions and all our material successes are forgotten the ideas and men our colonial days produced will be remembered. It is by the numbers and quality of such men that a nation is judged in the long run. Vast populations, huge wheat crops and armies, wonderful mechanical aptitude, industrial success and philanthropic millionaires are great and valuable things. But when a few hundred years have passed they count for almost nothing; for as little as the material wealth and wonders of the Roman Empire count against the men of intellect of the simple Greek democracy, who recreated the world in the Reformation after Roman ideas had degraded and destroyed it.

The state of the s

After a few hundred years have passed our material splendor will count for nothing against a Franklin or an Irving, a Longfellow or an Emerson, a Prescott or a Lowell, a Holmes, a Whittier, a Motley or a Parkman. These men gained their education and their eminence in learning and usefulness, not by what we call our wonderful advantages of modern education. Franklin was not aided in this way. He trained himself into an intellectual athlete on the simple fare of colonial life and when we investigate the lives of the others mentioned and of the Lincolns and Grants who recreated us in the Civil War we find that they were educated during the first half of the nineteenth century, when the system of life and education compared to what it is now was almost as simple as in the old colonial days.

Did you ever look at any of the catalogues of the New England colleges previous to the year 1850? Take, for example, the Harvard catalogue of the year 1833-34. All the information in it is contained in thirty-three pages instead of five or six hundred of modern catalogues. The course of studies covers only two pages and a quarter, and is the old Latin, Greek and mathematics with some science and mental and moral philosophy

COLONIAL CIMES

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added. Suppose you should show this catalogue to some young man of eighteen or nineteen or the catalogue of Yale, Dartmouth or Amherst for the same year and ask him if he would go to such a college. He would laugh at you.

"Why," he would say, "I should never learn anything. There is nothing there. I should have no advantages."

Pursue your investigations further. Show the young man all the courses of study from the year 1844 when Parkman, the youngest of those eminent New Englanders, graduated, back to the year 1801 when Daniel Webster graduated at Dartmouth, and his opinion will be the same that he expressed before, that the system of education of that time was not only inadequate but ridiculous, and must have been a waste of time, an injury and a handicap to all who came under it. Yet during those forty-three years, from 1801 to 1844, Holmes, Lowell, Prescott, Motley, Emerson, Everett, Bancroft, Parkman, Parker, Sumner, and Phillips were graduated from Harvard: Longfellow and Hawthorne were graduated from Bowdoin and Webster from Dartmouth. In those forty-three years men most remarkable for ability, scholarship and learning were produced at the rate of about one every three years under a system of education which we are now told was all wrong and ridiculous.

Did your governor ancestors rule a people who solemnly devoted themselves every day to the production of ideas that would enlighten us, their offspring? Was their life all serious, or all religious gloom as it has been sometimes represented? Not by any means. They were unconscious of what they were doing for us. If they had been conscious of it they might not have been able to do it. The evidence that is usually made conspicuous, except in Virginia and the Carolinas, shows little of the gay and easy side of their lives. But gaiety and pleasures fully equal to our own in modern times were there all the same. Even in New England when off duty they were, I think, fully as lively as we are to-

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day. We need not worry ourselves that they were conscientiously depriving themselves of pleasures for our sakes. Here is a glimpse of the way. Here is a glimpse among many I might give you of the way a supposed solemn young lawyer in Massachusetts, John Adams, spent a day in the year 1757:

"I have read about ten pages in Justinian, and translated about four pages in English. This is the whole of my day's work. I have smoked, chatted, trifled, loitered away the whole day almost. By much the larger part of it has been spent in unloading a cart, in cutting oven wood, in making and recruiting my own fire, in eating victuals and apples, in drinking tea, cutting and smoking tobacco, and in chatting with Dr. Savil's wife at their house and at this. Chores, chat, tobacco, tea steal away time. But I am resolved to translate Justinian and his commentator's notes by daylight and read Gilbert's Tenures by night, till I am master of both, and I will meddle with no other book in this chamber on a weekday. On a Sunday I will read the Enquiry Into the Nature of the Soul, and for amusement I will sometimes read Ovid's Art of Love to Mrs. Savil."

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### Johan Printz,

GOVERNOR OF NEW SWEDEN, 1643-53.

By Thomas Willing Balch.

Read April 5, 1915.

My brother has told you about two of the colonial governors from whom I descend, Robert Brooke and Major Thomas Brooke, both of Maryland; and he and Hare Davis have both spoken to you of the third colonial governor from whom I descend, Edward Shippen, of Pennsylvania. I propose to speak to you this evening of another colonial governor, who, while he was not the ancestor of any member of this society individually, as none of us descend from him, I believe, was nevertheless the ancestor of us all collectively, since he was the first governor of the territory which today constitutes the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania—Johan Printz.\*

The thirteen colonies which became in 1776 the original thirteen States, which have grown to forty-eight in number, derived their sovereignty from three of the nations of Europe—Sweden, England and Holland. And that accounts for the three colors, blue, red and orange, in the insignia of this society. For as you well know, the blue stands for Sweden, the red for England, and the orange for the United Netherlands.

If we look back at the historic beginnings of the thirteen colonies from which have sprung the present United States of America, we find that all the colonies south of the Middle States as well as those known under the

<sup>\*</sup> In preparing this paper I have made use, together with other authorities, of the following works—B. Fernow: Documents relating to the History of the Dutch and Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River, Albany, 1877. Gregory B. Keen: New Sweden, or the Swedes on the Delaware, Chapter ix in Volume IV, of Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, New York and Boston, 1884. J. Franklin Jameson: William Usselinx, the founder of the Dutch and Swedish West India Companies; New York, 1887. Amandus Johnson: The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, 1638-1664, Philadelphia, 1911.

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collective name of New England, were started by emigrants from England, and that those nine colonies, therefore, can look back to Queen Elizabeth as the sovereign in whose reign started the movements that called those nine provinces or states into being. And her memory is suitably commemorated in the name of Virginia.

New York, New Jersey and Delaware were started by men and women who hailed from the United Netherlands, and, as a consequence, the sovereignties of those three States go back for their beginnings to the States General of the United Netherlands. Like their sister States to the north, east and south, they can claim as their sponsor a great historic figure, William the Silent, who was truly the Father of the United Netherlands. In the course of time New York and New Jersey passed by conquest under the sovereignty of England. In the case of Delaware, the original settlement of Hollanders was destroyed after half a year by the Indians. Several years afterwards the inchoate title of the Hollanders to Delaware was taken over by the Swedes who built in 1638 Fort Christina on the site where is today the city of Wilmington. Later on Delaware passed by conquest into the hands of the Hollanders, from whom in turn it was subsequently, also by conquest, taken by the English.

In the case of Pennsylvania, however, no nation of Europe occupied and established its rule in the territory now known as the State of Pennsylvania, until Johan Printz settled on Great Tinicum or Tenakongh Island in 1643\*, and there established the seat of his government. Thus Pennsylvania, alone of the original thirteen provinces or states, looks to Sweden for the beginning of her sovereignty. Consequently, the Keystone State has a special interest not only in Queen Christina and her Chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna, but also in that famous King, surnamed the "Snow King," and "the Lion of the North," one of the greatest generals who has fought and won victories and

<sup>\*</sup> I have followed the form of the name as given by Acrelius in his *History of New Sweden*, published at Stockholm in 1759. A copy of this rare work is in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

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one of the few who has actually developed the art of war within the seven thousand years or so of the recorded history of humanity—Gustavus Adolphus the Great.

Elsewhere I have said that\*

"When William Usselinx of Antwerp found that he could not persuade the States General of the United Netherlands to take hold of his scheme for a Dutch trading and colonizing company to extend Dutch sway and possession in the New World, he turned with reluctance from Holland and in 1624 looked to Sweden for aid in the carrying out of his trans-Atlantic plans. At Göteborg in October or November of 1624, Gustavus Adolphus granted him a six hours' interview to unfold his plans. On November 4, Usselinx had the draft charter of the proposed company ready; then the general prospectus of the proposed company was issued; and on December 21, 1624, the Swedish King gave 'commission to William Usselinx to establish a General Trading Company for Asia, Africa, America and Magellanica.' Finally, on June 6, 1626, King Gustavus Adolphus signed the charter of the South Company, to carry on trade beyond the seas and to colonize. It was the first forerunner and ancestor of that later Swedish Company in whose service Lieutenant Colonel Johan Printz, subsequently starting from Göteborg with the two vessels, the "Fama" and the "Svanem," crossed the Atlantic Ocean in 1642, to become the fourth Governor of New Sweden. Printz, like his three predecessors, landed where the first Swedish colonists under Minuet built Fort Christina, the site of the present city of Wilmington. He began his rule there in 1643. Printz, soon after his arrival at Fort Christina, made a journey through the surrounding territory, sailing

<sup>\*</sup> The Swedish Beginning of Pennsylvania, the Wyoming Valley Controversy and other events in Pennsylvania History, a paper read by the author of this address before the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, Massachusetts, October 21, 1914.

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up the Delaware River as far as San Kikan, the modern Trenton. He decided to change his residence and the seat of his government from Fort Christina in Delaware to Great Tenakongh or Tinicum Island situated fifteen miles further up the Delaware River and in present day Pennsylvania. There Printz built a fort of heavy logs, which he armed with four brass cannon. This fort he called in memory of the city in Sweden from which his expedition had finally set out to cross the ocean to the New World-Nva Götenborg (New Gottenburg). The same name was also conferred upon the whole island in a patent that his sovereign, Queen Christina, issued on November 6 following, in which she granted to Governor Printz the island 'to him and his lawful issue as a perpetual possession.' Printz built a house for himself at Nya Göteborg which was known as Printzhof. About twenty of the colonists, among whom were Printz's bookkeeper and clerk, together with their families, as well as the governor's bodyguard and the crew of his small yacht, settled on the island. Printz also constructed a small redoubt on the eastern shore of the island which he christened Nya Elfborg. On Tinicum Island Governor Printz had built not later than 1646, and possibly earlier. a small church which was alike the first church of Sweden and the first church of any division of the church universal that was erected and established in the territory of what is today the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

"Johan Printz, the first governor to establish his seat of government in the territory which constitutes today the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, was born on July 20th, 1592, at Bottnayrd, in Småland,\* a province of southern Sweden, which looks out upon the Baltic Sea opposite to the Islands of Oland and Gothland. After attending

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school in his native Småland, he was sent to study in Germany for a time at the universities of Rostock and Greifswald. After returning to Sweden, he was enabled again, thanks to the generosity in 1620 of his sovereign, Gustavus Adolphus, to pursue his studies further at the German universities of Leipzig, Wittenberg and Jena. Made a prisoner by some soldiers he was forced to accompany them in their wanderings as far as Italy. He served for a time in the French and the Austrian forces, and finally returned once more to Sweden in 1625, when he entered the Swedish army. In 1630 he was commissioned a captain, in 1634 he was promoted to the rank of major, in 1635 and 1636 he saw active service under General Ture Bielke in the Thirty Years' War. Two years later he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel in the Swedish forces, and in 1640, as military governor of Chemnitz in western Saxony, he made with the small force under his command, a brilliant and courageous though unsuccessful defense against the Imperial forces. After returning to Sweden once more, he was appointed in 1642 to the governorship of New Sweden and was knighted in July of that year. His active rule as governor of the colony lasted from early in 1643 to the autumn of 1653. Upon his return to Sweden, the government appointed him a colonel, in 1657 named him Commandant of the Castle of Jönköping, and the next year governor of Jönköpings lan. He died on the third day of May, 1663. Governor Printz married twice, first Elizabeth Bok, who died in 1640, and secondly, just before he sailed for New Sweden in 1642, Maria von Linnestan. A man of large size and great weight, he was called by the Indians 'the big tub.' The Hollander de Vries says that he weighed more than four hundred pounds. To quote the Dutch Captain's descriptive language à propos of the Swedish Governor: 'Was ghenaemt Capitevn Prins, eeen kloeck Man van

for New Sweden in 1642, Maria von Linnestan. A by the Indians 'the big tub.' The Hollander de ghenaemt Capiteyn Prins, eeen klocck Man van postuer die over he vierhundert pondt woeg.' And this description of the physical characteristics of Governor Printz is borne out by his picture in oils in Sweden, a copy of which, made by command of the present King of Sweden, Gustavus the Fifth, is now in the hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Upon one side of the canvas is painted the coat of arms of Governor Printz.

"The English, both at home and in their North American Colonies, protested at the time the Swedes settled and occupied New Sweden against the right of the Swedish Crown to establish a colony on the banks of the Delaware. This protest the English based upon the priority of discovery of the country by their own navigators. Waiving, however, owing to historic doubt, by the navigators of which of several European nations then active in exploring the Seven Seas, the River Delaware and the adjoining lands were first discovered, the validity of the Swedish title to the lands they occupied in Pennsylvania and Delaware, apart from having bought them from the native Indians, is to be found in the celebrated answer that Oueen Elizabeth made to the Ambassador of Philip the Second of Spain, Mendoza, in 1580. In that year, after Sir Francis Drake's return from a distant voyage during the course of which he had attacked numerous Spanish settlements and captured much plunder from Spanish subjects both on land and sea, Mendoza, on his master's behalf, claimed the sovereignty of all the new-found lands from the fact that they were first discovered by subjects of the King of Spain. To which England's Queen, as Camden tells us, said:\* 'As she did not acknowledge the Spaniards to have any title by donation of the Bishop of Rome, so she knew no right they had to any places other than those they were in actual

<sup>\*</sup> Camden's Annals, 1580: see Translation in Sir Travers Twiss, Oregon Question.

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possession of; for that their having touched only here and there upon a coast, and given names to a few rivers or capes, were such insignificant things as could in no ways entitle them to a property further than in the parts where they actually settled and continued to inhabit.' The English themselves, as did the nationals of the other great maritime nations of the seventeenth and subsequent centuries, acted repeatedly on this principle of the Law of Nations so clearly and forcibly enunciated by Queen Elizabeth at the beginning of the last quarter of the sixteenth century when her subjects were seeking in all parts of the new world suitable lands where they might plant and extend through colonization the sway of the English crown. And in subsequent centuries this declaration of international policy of England's Virgin Queen was accepted again and again both by international publicists, such as Vattel, Bluntschli, Rivier and Westlake, and governments, as in the declaration issued by Spain in 1790 concerning the Nootka Sound controversy, until today it is a well recognized rule of International Law that discovery alone of a new and unknown land does not confer title upon the sovereign of the national who make the discovery, but merely an inchoate title which must be reinforced within a reasonable time by an effectual and lasting occupancy in order that that inchoate title shall become perfected into a full one instead of lapsing gradually away. In the Law of Nations as proclaimed by one of England's greatest sovereigns with her own lips, a sovereign who was herself the incarnation of England's spirit of discovery and colonization, the Swedish Crown found ample justification for its title New Sweden."

Not only to Sweden does Pennsylvania look for the beginning of her sovereignty, but also to that northern land does our commonwealth trace her spiritual beginnings. For on September 4, 1646, Magister Campanius

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consecrated on Great Tenakongh or Tinicum Island a little wooden church. It was built near the fort at Nya Göteborg. That early little church, which was the first church of any branch of the Universal Church to be built within the territory of what is today Pennsylvania, has entirely disappeared. However, in 1677, a second Swedish church was begun at Wicaco on the Delaware in what is now South Philadelphia. Services were first held at this new church on Trinity Sunday, 1677, when the Rev. Jacob Fabritius preached in the little block house on the spot where the present handsome church, known as Old Swedes, has stood ever since 1700. present home of Old Swedes' Church is older than any other church building standing in Philadelphia today; and with the exception of a church of the Confession of Augsburg, built in 1687 at Trappe near the Perkiomen Creek, is the oldest church now in use in Pennsylvania. Among the treasures of Old Swedes', or Gloria Dei as it is often called, there is a letter of King Gustavus Adolphus, which Ferdinand I. Dreer presented to the old church in 1802. This letter is as follows:

"To

"Our beloved and faithful subjects and commissioners, who collect for us the taxes for the ransom of Elfsborg and the Dana tax, Noble and Honorable Jyrvill Jönsson and Swen Didrichsson.

"Gustavus Adolphus, by the grace of God, King of Sweden, Grand Duke of Finland, Duke of Estland

and Curland, Lord of Ingermerland.

"Our favor and gracious will by the ordinance of God. We perceive, faithful servants, that the Minister Carlin, in the parish of Slaka, is both old and blind, so he is hardly able to provide for his support. Therefore, we have graciously relieved him from the duty to pay the ransom of Elfsborg. You shall, therefore, not claim that of him. Commanding you in the will of God,

"Dated at Linköping, June 7th, 1618,

"Gustavus Adolphus."

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<sup>&</sup>quot;Gustavus Adolphus."

This communication is indorsed with the word "Favorable." The translation of this official document written by the "Snow King" which I have used was made a number of years ago by the Rev. P. J. O. Cornell, who was the pastor of the Swedish Lutheran Zion Church on Ninth Street, Philadelphia.

Thus both the civil and the religious beginnings of our commonwealth go back to Sweden. It is, therefore, both fitting and appropriate, when on Flag Day the red, white and blue of the Stars and Stripes of the Union are displayed in the largest city in the territory which during the middle of the seventeenth century was New Sweden, that also the colors of the flag of Philadelphia, the blue and yellow of Sweden, should be raised over the City Hall.

The thirteen colonies which derived their sovereignty from Sweden, England and Holland, and as a result of the war for independence combined to form our present country, the United States of America, can look back to three European sovereigns for the beginnings of their sovereignty—Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, the victor of Lützen, Elizabeth of England, during whose reign began the colonial empire of England, and William the Silent, the father of the United Netherlands. Three heroic characters, they were all of them worthy prototypes, in the services which they rendered to their own countries, of our national father, George Washington.

It would be well, I think, for this community and State to commemorate in enduring bronze the beginning of the sovereignty of our commonwealth. And so I shall repeat to the Council of this Society a suggestion which I made at the last meeting of the American Philosophical Society (March 5th), just one month ago this evening (April 5th). First, that a bronze tablet should be placed in a suitable position on Great Tinicum Island, to commemorate Governor Printz and Fort Nya Göteborg, the first capital established by a European State within the bounds of present day Pennsylvania; and second, that a bronze statue of life or heroic size of Governor Printz should be erected at some conspicuous place within the

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# William Pynchon,

DEPUTY GOVERNOR ON THE CONNECTICUT RIVER, 1635-1636. By John Lyman Cox.

Read December 6, 1915.

In the early history of the Colonies of Massachusetts Bay and of Connecticut there is a name which stands out clearly, distinguished alike for the honor long paid, to the man who bore it and by the storm of religious criticism which subsequently overwhelmed him. It is that of William Pynchon.

Born at Springfield, near Chelmsford, County of Essex, England, of gentle ancestry, he was the son of John Pinchon, who married the daughter and heiress of one Orchard. John Pinchon was a greatgrandson of that Nicholas Pinchon of Wales, who was Sheriff of London in 1532.

William Pynchon was born in the year 1589. Of his youth and early manhood little is known, save that he was a member of Christ Church of Springfield, and one of its Wardens, having had charge, with an associate

Warden, of repairs to the edifice in 1624.

From his subsequent career it may well be imagined that he had little sympathy with the current course of events in England, and when, on the 4th of March, 1629, there was granted, by King Charles I, to "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England" a strip of territory stretching from the Merrimack on the north to a line three miles south of the Charles River, and extending "from the Atlantick and western Sea and ocean on the east parte to the south sea on the west parte," he was one of this company, which consisted of twenty-seven persons, of whom some were capitalists from London and elsewhere, called the adventurers, and others, those who were going out to New

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England, called the planters, whose settlements became known as plantations. The price to be paid the Crown for this concession was one-fifth of all the gold and silver found within the limits of the grant.

From time to time meetings of the associates were held to discuss various points, and finally, on August 28, 1629, the question of whether to continue the government of the Colony in England or to transfer it to New England was brought up for determination. Final consideration was postponed until seven o'clock the next morning, when, with the full membership of twenty-seven present, it was voted that the Government and Patent should be settled in New England, thus giving self-government to the Colony.

On the eighth day of April, 1630, the "Arbella," the "Talbot," and the "Jewel," bearing Governor Winthrop and his company, sailed from Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, arriving at Salem, Massachusetts, on the fourth of June. The price charged for the passage was five pounds for an adult and for freight four pounds a ton.

"Sucking children not to be reckoned; such as are under 4 years of age, 3 for one; under 8, 2 for one; under 12, 3 for 2, and that a ship of 200 tons shall not carry above 120 passengers."

The newcomers soon settled in Boston and vicinity, Pynchon making his home in Roxbury. With the immigrant there came his four children and their mother, Pynchon's first wife, Anna Andrew, daughter of William Andrew of Twiwell, Northamptonshire, of a family long settled in Warwickshire. Mrs. Pynchon died in Roxbury in 1630, before the return of the ship in which she had left England. Pynchon next married Frances Sanford, "a grave matron of the church of Dorchester," whose son by her first marriage, Henry Smith, became the husband of Pynchon's daughter Ann.

Mr. Pynchon had been named an Assistant in the Royal Charter, and he was annually elected to that office until 1652; he was also Treasurer of the Colony.

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In the early days the Deputies were elected by the qualified voters of the various towns, and, upon assembling in Boston, proceeded to choose Assistants, who formed the upper branch of the General Court. Upon the Assistants devolved judicial as well as legislative functions, for with the Governor and Deputy Governor they formed a court for the trial of causes appealed from the county magistrates and of such criminal cases as were beyond the jurisdiction of the lower courts.

In 1635 the General Court had been petitioned by various persons from Newton (now Cambridge), Dorchester, Watertown, and Roxbury, for permission to remove to the Connecticut Valley, which was denied. The following year, however, this permission was granted with the condition that the colonists should not remove from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. The people from Dorchester ultimately settled at Windsor, those from Watertown at Wethersfield, the Newton people at Hartford, and the Roxbury people at Agawam, subsequently called Springfield.

It is believed that in 1635 Mr. Pynchon had made a preliminary journey to the Connecticut, and early in 1636 he and his Roxbury associates, Matthew Mitchell, Henry Smith, Jehu Burr, William Blake, Edmund Wood, Thomas Ufford, and John Cable started overland for the river valley, having shipped their goods by water on Governor Winthrop's boat, "The Blessing of the Bay," and another small vessel. Arriving early in May at the point previously selected for their plantation, Mr. Pynchon set about buying from the Indians their title to the land, treating them in this, as in every other instance, with scrupulous justice. The price paid for the land secured on both sides of the river was not high, being 18 fathoms of wampum, 18 coats, 18 hatchets, 18 hoes and 18 knives. The deed is dated July 15, 1636, and was recorded July 8, 1679, at the Registry of Deeds in Hampton County.

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were signed by eight individuals. The document is still in existence and is very interesting. We "doe mutually agree to certayne articles and orders to be observed and kept by us and by our successors, except wee and every of us for our selves and in oure owne p'sons shall thinke meete uppon better reasons to alter our p'sent resolutions". The first article declared their intention to procure a minister; the second, that the town was to be limited to fifty families; the succeeding articles, that each head of a family should have a house-lot and an allotment of planting grounds, pasture, meadow, marsh and timber land. Taxes were to be levied on land only. William Pynchon was given 20 acres of meadow. Jehu Burr and Henry Smith, each 10 acres, exempt from taxation because of their expenses in founding and upholding the town. No one but Mr. Pynchon was allowed to have over 10 acres in his house-lot, and he alone could wear great boots, as the law of the time limited their possession to those who had property of 200 pounds or more.

For a year the little settlement was without a minister, Mr. Pynchon acting as such and writing his own sermons. In the autumn of 1637 the Rev. George Moxon arrived at Agawam and was installed as minister.

The new settlement grew slowly, for when a tax of 41 pounds 4 shillings was levied two years later but thirteen people were assessed and Mr. Pynchon paid more than one-half of it.

The settlements at Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield were soon found to be outside the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and for some time it was doubtful if Springfield were within it. In 1636 Mr. Pynchon was elected an Assistant of Connecticut, being at the same time an Assistant of Massachusetts Bay. He was not present at the Court of Elections in May, but took his oath and his seat as a Magistrate in September. That same year the General Court gave a commission to Roger Ludlow, William Pynchon, Henry Smith and others, to govern the inhabitants of the plantations.

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Mr. Pynchon was essentially a merchant rather than a planter. A man of great enterprise and an active trader with the Indians, because of his success in dealing with them he was appointed the agent of the Connecticut colonists for the purchase of corn from the Indians at the close of the Pequot War, but his methods being misunderstood, he was accused by Hartford of running a corner in this staple for his own benefit, and according to the historian, was most unjustly condemned to pay a fine of 40 bushels of corn, his conduct having been perfectly correct throughout.

It having developed that Agawam was within the limits of Massachusetts, on the fourteenth day of February, 1638, the settlers made a voluntary agreement for their government and chose Mr. Pynchon for their

Magistrate. This agreement is as follows:

"Wee the inhabitants of Aguam, uppon the Quinecticut, taking into consideration the manifould inconveniences that may fall uppon us for want of some fit magistracy among us; Beinge now by God's Providence fallen into the line of the Massachusetts jurisdiction; and it beinge far off to repair thither, in such cases of justice as may often fall out among us doe therefore think it meett by a general consent and vote to ordaine (till we receive further directions from the General Court in the Massachusetts bay,) Mr. William Pynchon to execute the office of a magistrate in this our plantation of Aguam, viz. to give oaths to constables or military officers, to direct warrants, both processes executions and attachments, to heare and examine misdemeanors, to depose witnesses, and upon proof of misdemeanor, to inflict corporeal punishment as whipping, stockinge, binding to the peace or good behavior, in some cases to require sureties, and if the offence require it, to commit to prison, and in default of a common prison, to commit delinquents to the charge of some fit person or persons till justice may be satisfyed. Also in Mr. Pynchon was essentially a merchant rather than a planter. A man of great enterprise and an active trader with the Indians, because of his success in dealing with them he was appointed the agent of the Connecticut colonists for the purchase of corn from the Indians at the close of the Pequot War, but his methods being misunderstood, he was accused by Hartford of running a corner in this staple for his own benefit, and according to the historian, was most unjustly condemned to pay a fine of 40 bushels of corn, his conduct having been perfectly correct throughout.

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the trying of actions for debt or trespass, to give oaths, direct juries, depose witnesses, take verdicts, and keep records of verdicts, judgements, and executions, and what ever else may tend to the Kings peace, and the manifestation of our fidelity to the Bay jurisdiction, and the restraining of any that violate God's laws, or lastly, whatever else may fall within the power of an assistant in the Massachusetts.

"It is also agreed upon by a mutual consent, that in case of any action of debt, a trespass to be tryed, seeing a jury of twelve fit persons cannot be had at present among us, that six persons shall be esteemed a good and sufficient jury to try any action under the sum of ten pounds, till wee see cause to the contrary, and by common consent shall alter this number of jurors, or shall be otherwise directed by the General Court of Massachusetts."

Later the General Court approved the proceedings and confirmed Mr. Pynchon in office.

On the 14th of April, 1640, in general town meeting, the name Aguam was changed to Springfield in compliment to Mr. Pynchon, that having been the name of

his home in England.

The richest man in his community, and the most forceful, honored alike by his town and province as an upright and fearless judge and legislator, this busy merchant and stern man of affairs finally felt impelled to write a book upon the religious views which for the previous thirty years he had held on the subject of Christ's Atonement, which was a protest against the rigid Calvinism of his day. The book was entitled The Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption, Justification, &c., clearing it from some common Errors, &c., by William Pynchon, Gentleman, in New England. It was published in 1650 by James Moxon in London and reached Boston early in October. It proves him to have been

"a profound scholar, a logical writer, and an independent thinker. . . . He read his Bible in the the trying of actions for debt or trespass, to give oaths, direct juries, depose witnesses, take verdicts, and keep records of verdicts, judgements, and executions, and what ever else may tend to the Kings peace, and the manifestation of our fidelity to the Bay jurisdiction, and the restraining of any that violate God's laws, or lastly, whatever else may fall within the power of an assistant in the Massachusetts.

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original tongues. . . . In his book he condemned specially the doctrine that Christ suffered the wrath of God and the torments of hell to pay man's debt to his Creator. His theory of the Atonement was that, inasmuch as sin came into the world through Adam's disobedience, so Christ by His perfect obedience paid the full price of our redemption. The killing of Jesus was not the display of God's wrath, but was the work of the devil through his instruments, the Jews and the Roman soldiers. The theory that the guilt of the world was laid upon or imputed to Christ he denounced unsparingly. Quoting Ezekiel's words, 'One man shall not die for anothers' sin,' he says, 'By this rule of justice God cannot inflict the torments of hell upon an innocent to redeem a guilty person. I hold it a point of gross injustice for any Court of Magistrates to torture an innocent person for the redemption of a gross Malefactor.'

"A large part of the work deals with the subtleties and abstractions of now bygone theology, but the one thought stands out stronger that God the Father is a God of Justice, and the writer burns with indignation at the unworthy conceptions of the Almighty which the old theologians taught."

The views enunciated by Governor Pynchon called down upon his head a storm of disapprobation throughout the Colony and he was dubbed a heretic. The book was ordered publicly burned by the common executioner in Boston Market and Mr. Pynchon was deposed from the magistracy by the General Court. Several ministers were appointed to labor with him and persuade him of his errors, and the Reverend John Norton was appointed to write an answer to the book. The book itself has become exceedingly rare, only three copies being known,—one in the Congregational Library in Boston, one in the British Museum and one now in the Hartford Atheneum.

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The views caunciated by Governor Pynchon called down upon his head a storm of disapprobation throughout the Colony and he was dubbed a heretic. The book was ordered publicly burned by the common executioner in Boston Market and Mr. Pynchon was deposed from the magistracy by the General Court. Several ministers were appointed to labor with him and persuade him of his errors, and the Reverend John Norton was appointed to write an answer to the book. The book itself has become exceedingly rare, only three copies being known, become exceedingly rare, only three copies being known, one in the Gongregational Library in Boston, one in the British Museum and one now in the Hartford Atheneum.

Condemned on all sides and besieged by the ministers who sought to overthrow his arguments, and with none to support him, the lay author was induced to modify one of his positions, as appears from the following Court record:

"May 22, 1651—Mr. William Pynchon, being summoned to appeare before the Generall Court, according to their order, the last session, made his appearance before the Court, and being demaunded whether that book which goes under his name, and then presented to him, was his or not, he answered for substance of the book, he owned it to be his.

"Whereuppon the Court out of their tender respect to him, ordered him liberty to conferr with all the reverend elders now present, or such of them as he should desire and choose. At last he took it into consideration, and returned his mind at the present

in writing, under his hand, viz:

"'According to the Court's advice, I have conferred with the Reverend Mr. Cotton, Mr. Norrice, and Mr. Norton, about some points of the greatest consequence in my booke, and I hope I have so explained my meaning to them as to take off the worst construction, and it hath pleased God to let me see that I have not spoken in my booke so fully of the price and merrit of Christ's sufferings as I should have done, for in my book I call them but trials of his obedience, yet intending thereby to amplifie and exalt the mediatorial obedience of Christ as the only meritorious price of man's redemption. But now at present I am much inclined to think that his sufferings were appointed by God for a farther end, namely, as the due punishment for our sins by way of satisfaction to divine justice for man's redemption.

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<sup>&</sup>quot;"WILLIAM PYNCHON,""

On March 9, 1651,

"The Court finding by Mr. Pynchon's writing, given into the Court, that through the blessing of God on the paines of the reverend elders to convince him of his errors in his booke conceive that he is in a hopeful way to give good satisfaction, and therefore at his request, judge it meete to grant him liberty, respecting the present troubles of his family, to return home some day the next week if he please, and that he shall have Mr. Norton's answer to his booke up with him, to consider thereof, that so at the next sesion of this Court, being the 14th of October next, he may give all due satisfaction as is hoped for and desired, to which session he is hereby enjoyned to make his personall appearance for that end.

"It is ordered that thanks be given by this Court to Mr. John Norton for his worthy paynes in his full answer to Mr. Pynchon's book, which at their desire he made, & since presented them with: & as a recompence for his paynes and good service therein, doe order that the Treasurer shall pay him twenty pounds out of the next levy."

It is not known what these family troubles were, but it is certain that Mr. Pynchon was disheartened at the treatment he had received and knew that disgrace and the confiscation of his property awaited him; perhaps, as Savage suggests, the same purification his book had been given, for he had gone as far as he could in bowing to the storm the book had raised. He did not appear at the Court when it met on the 14th of October and he was given until the following May to renounce his "errors and heresies," being bound in the sum of 100 pounds to appear then "to give full answer to satisfaction if it may be or otherwise to stand to the judgment and censure of the Court."

It is evident that friends of Mr. Pynchon in England wrote in his behalf, for we have the following letter from Governor Endecot and others to Sir Harry Vane:

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"We received your letter bearing date the 15th of April, 1652, written in the behalf of Mr. William Pincheon, who is one that we did all love and respect. But his book and the doctrine therein contained we cannot but abhor as pernicious and dangerous; and are much grieved, that such an erroneous pamphlet was penned by a New England man, especially a Magistrate amongst us, wherein he taketh upon him to condemn the judgment of most, if not all, both ancient and modern divines. who were learned, orthodox and godly in point of so great weight and concernment, as tend to the salvation of God's elect, and the contrary, which he maintains to the destruction of such as follow it. Neither have we heard of any one godly orthodox divine, that ever held what he hath written; nor do we know of any one of our ministers in all the four jurisdictions that doth approve of the same, but all do judge it as erroneous and heretical. And to the end that we might give satisfaction to all the world of our just proceedings against him, and for the avoiding of any just offence to be taken against us, we caused Mr. John Norton, teacher of the church of Ipswich, to answer his book fully, which, if it be printed, we hope it will give your honoured self and all indifferent men full satisfaction.

"Mr. Pincheon might have kept his judgment to himself, as it seems he did above thirty years, most of which time he hath lived amongst us with honour, much respect, and love. But when God left him to himself in the publishing and spreading of his erroneous books here amongst us, to the endangering of the faith of such as might come to read them, (as the like effects have followed the reading of other erroneous books brought over here into these parts), we held it our duty, and believe we were called of God to proceed against him accordingly. And this we can further say, and that truly,

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that we used all lawful Christian means with as much tenderness, respect and love as he could expect, which, we think, he himself will acknowledge. For we desired divers of our elders, such as he himself liked, to confer with him privately, lovingly, and meekly, to see if they could prevail with him by arguments from the Scriptures, which accordingly was done; and he was then thereby so far convinced. that he seemed to yield for substance the case in controversy, signed with his own hand. And for the better confirming of him in the truth of God. Mr. Norton left with him a copy of the book he writ in answer to him; and the Court gave him divers months to consider both of the book and what had been spoken unto him by the elders. But in the interim (as it is reported) he received letters from England which encouraged him in his errours, to the great grief of us all, and of divers others of the people of God amongst us. We therefore leave the author, together with the fautors and maintainers of such opinions, to the great Judge of all the earth, who judgeth righteously and is no respecter of persons.

"Touching that which your honoured self doth advise us unto, viz. not to censure any persons for matters of a religious nature or concernment, we desire to follow any good advice or counsel from you, or any of the people of God, and according to the rule of God's word. Yet we conceive, with submission still to better light, that we have not acted in Mr. Pincheon's case, either for substance or circumstance, as far as we can discern, otherwise than according unto rule, and as we believe in conscience to God's command we were bound to do. All which, we hope, will so far satisfy you as that we shall not need to make any further defence touching this subject. The God of peace and truth lead you into all faith, and guide your heart aright in these dangerous and apostatizing times, wherein many are fallen from the faith, giving heed to errours, and make

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"20 October 1652 "Past by the Council

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Here ends the record of this case. It is not known that Mr. Pynchon ever appeared before the Court again. He had made up his mind to leave the country which had treated him so unhandsomely, and to seek refuge in England. He transferred to his son, John, all of his property in Springfield, making him the largest landowner there, left New England, and in September, 1652, settled at Wraisbury, on the Thames, in Buckinghamshire, with his son-in-law, Henry Smith, and his minister, Rev. George Moxon.

In 1655 a new edition of Mr. Pynchon's book was published in London by Thomas Newbury, 440 pages quarto, in which he controverted Mr. Norton's "corrupt exposition" and he reiterated all his former opinions.

On October 29, 1661, Mr. Pynchon died, aged seventytwo years, his second wife having died October 10, 1657.

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"William Pynchon was, without doubt, the ablest reasoner and the best scholar residing here (New England) during the first century. The drift of his mind was towards abstract discussion of theological questions which he treated with an independence of thought rare for his time. Viewed in

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## While Burt says, page 68:

"William Pynchon's book, literally and figuratively, was 'the voice of one crying in the wilderness." The details of his theology are of less importance to us than the fact that he alone in all New England dared to proclaim the faith that was in him when that faith was opposed to the lawfully established religion. It was a marked step forward in the evolution of religious truth, and we see in it a glimmering of the great light which many years later was to break over New England and dispel the gloom of an antiquated and cruel theology. When he tests the rules of divine justice by the common standard of man's justice, he makes a bold departure from Calvinism, and one recognizes the same spirit which has inspired others in later times."

As few people today have heard of a Judge Pynchon outside of the fascinating pages of Hawthorne's "The House of the Seven Gables," I think it of interest, and due to the memory of a great man, that fresh publicity be given to a letter from the gifted author of that romance to a descendant of Mr. Pynchon's who wrote to him complaining of the injustice done his ancestor in that book.

"LENOX, May 3, 1851.

"Sir,

"It pains me to learn that I have given you what I am content to acknowledge a reasonable ground of offence by borrowing the name of the Pynchon family for my fictitious purposes in 'The House of the Seven Gables.' It never occurred to me, however, that the name was not as much the property of a

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romance writer as that of Smith, for instance; while its unhackneyed singularity, and a certain indescribable fitness to the tone of my work, gave it a value which no other of the many surnames which suggested themselves to me seemed to possess.

"Writing the book at a distance from Salem, I had no opportunity for consulting ancient records or the recollections of aged persons; and I beg you to believe that I was wholly unaware, until the receipt of your letter, that the Pynchons, at so recent a period as you mention, if at any former one, had been residents of that place. Had this fact been within my knowledge, and especially had I known that any member of the family had borne the title of Judge, I should certainly have considered it discourteous and unwarrantable to make free with the name. I would further say that I intended no allusion to any Pynchon now or at any previous period extant; that I never heard anything to the discredit, in the slightest degree, of this old and respectable race, and that I give the fullest credence to your testimony in favour of your grandfather, Judge Pynchon, and greatly regret that I should have seemed to sully his honourable name, by plastering it upon an imaginary villain.

"You suggest that reparation is due for these injuries of my pen, but point out no mode in which it may be practicable. It is my own opinion that no real harm has been done, inasmuch as I enter a protest in the preface of 'The House of the Seven Gables' against the narrative and the personages being considered as other than imaginary. But, since it appears otherwise to you, no better course occurs to me than to put this letter at your disposal, to be used in such manner as a proper regard for your family honour may be thought to demand.

"Respectfully, Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,
"NATHL. HAWTHORNE."

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Respectfully, Sir,

Your obedient Servant, "NATHE HAWTHORNE,"

To those conversant with the dates there would be little danger of confusing old Governor Pynchon, or Judge Pynchon, as he might well be called, with the Judge Pynchon of the romance, especially as the old Governor spent so little of his life in Salem; but, very strangely, his grandson of the same name lived in Salem and was a magistrate there, a man of the highest mental and moral type.

Hawthorne's blunder parallels that of Captain Marryatt in drawing a fictitious Masterman Ready, of Bristol, ship-owner, as an old screw, whereas a real man of that name, abode and calling was quite the contrary.

In writing the foregoing account of the life of William Pynchon my endeavor has been to combine in one narrative the various accounts of his life which I have found, and some of the documents touching him which have been published. I make no claim to originality of material or of treatment.

(Authorities: Memoir of William Pynchon, by Charles Stearns, published by Samuel G. Drake, Boston, 1859; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. XIII; A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, by James Savage, Boston, 1861; Springfield, 1636-1886, History of Town and City, by Mason A. Green, Springfield, 1888; The First Century of the History of Springfield, by Henry M. Burt, 1898; Record of the Pynchon Family in England and America, by Dr. Joseph Charles Pynchon, Springfield, 1885; The Diary of William Pynchon of Salem, by Fetch Edward Oliver, Boston, 1890; The House of the Seven Gables, by Nathaniel Hawthorne, published by A. L. Burt, New York.)

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# Robert Carter,

ACTING GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, 1726-1727.

BY CARTER BERKELEY TAYLOR.

Read February 7, 1916.

One of the things which must strike anyone in studying the early history of the emigrants to America was their extreme virility. They must have been men and women of unusual physique, to endure the hardships of the new life. They had the spirit of adventure developed to an extraordinary degree. Many of them were of a high order of intelligence, and almost all of them of strong religious views. Those who started the great families of this country had traditions and the faculty of making money. Whether they were the younger sons of the aristocracy or the sturdy commoners from the countries of England, or even yet the ne'er do wells, who had exhausted the resources of the old country, we do not by any means know. Most likely they came from all classes, including the criminal; still they braved the elements and dangers lurking amid the forest of the new country.

Not the least of these was the progenitor of the Carter family of Virginia. John Carter, of Corotman, father of King Carter, came to Virginia in 1649, nearly three centuries ago, most likely from Edmonton, Middlesex County, England, being one of the "distressed cavaliers" who sought refuge in the loyal Colony of Virginia, settling first in Upper Norfolk (now Nansemond) County. (See article on "The Carters of Virginia," by Kate Mason Rowland, in *Some Old Colonial Mansions*, by Thomas Allen Glenn.)

In 1654 Campbell speaks of a body of troops under the command of General (most likely Colonel) Carter being marched against the Rappahannock Indians to the Rappahannock towns, which must have been suc-

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His name first appears as a member of the Council in 1657. He incurred the displeasure of the English Commonwealth in 1659, as the records show a warrant dated April 8, 1659, to arrest Colonel John Carter and bring him before the Governor and Council at Jamestown, for contempt of the Commission sent out by Cromwell. He was at this time a member of the House of Burgesses.

With the Restoration he resumed his place in the Council, and on March 28, 1663, with Governor Berkeley and others, signed the Virginia Remonstrance against granting lands in the Northern Neck to certain Lords, favorites of Charles II.

In 1663 he was appointed by Governor Berkeley one of a Commission to interview the Governor of Maryland in relation to the excessive planting of tobacco in the two colonies.

In October, 1665, he was granted 4000 acres of land for transporting eighty persons into the colony. He built by contract the first church where Christ Church, Lancaster County, now is, and the vestry received it from his son John Carter's hands six months after the Colonel's death.

He married five times, and died June 10, 1669, after all his wives had predeceased him, as appears by the epitaph on his tombstone, to the north of the chancel in the east end of Old Christ Church: "Here lyeth buried ye body of John Carter, Esq., who died ye 10th of June Anno Domini 1669; and also Jane ye daughter of Mr. Morgan Glyn and George her son, and Eleanor Carter and Ann ye daughter of Mr. Cleave Carter, and Sarah ye daughter of Mr. Gabriel Ludlow and Sarah her daughter which were all his wives successively, and died before him. Blessed are ye dead which die in the Lord; even soe saith ye spirit for they rest from their labors and their works do follow them."

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He married five times, and died June 10, 1060, after all his wives had predeceased him, as appears by the epitaph on his tombstone, to the north of the chancel in the east end of Old Christ Church: "Here lyeth buried ye body of John Carter, Esq., who died ye 10th of June Anno Domini 1660; and also Jane ye daughter of Mr. Morgan Glyn and George her son, and Eleanor Carter and Ann ye daughter of Mr. Cleave Carter, and Sarah ye daughter of Mr. Gabriel Ludlow and Sarah her daughter which were all his wives successively, and died before him. Blessed are ye dead which die in the Lord; even soe saith ye spuit for they rest from their labors and their works do follow them."

Robert Carter, of Corotman, popularly known as "King Carter," was the son of Sarah Ludlow, the fourth

wife of his father. His father's fifth wife was Elizabeth Shirley.

From this Robert Carter, only son of Colonel John Carter and Sarah Ludlow, all the Carters of Virginia are descended.

By Colonel John Carter's will, dated January 3, 1669, he left to his son Robert one thousand acres lying on a branch of Corotman, "his mother's hoop ring and crystal necklace." He provides for his education as follows: "He is to have a man or youth servant bought for him that hath been brought up in the Latin school, and that he (the servant) shall constantly tend upon him, not only to teach him his books, either in English or Latin, according to his capacity (for my will is that he shall learn both Latin and English and to write) and also to preserve him from harm and from doing evil." This was the educated white servant, who was as much the property of his master as the negro slave. Robert was between five and six years old when his father died.

The name of John Carter appears in the Christ Church parish as a member of the vestry in 1666, his name preceding that of the clergyman—something not found in

any other parish.

Robert, "King Carter," of Corotman, was born in 1663 and died in 1732. He married first, in 1688, Judith, daughter of John Armistead, of Hesse, and secondly, in 1701, Mrs. Elizabeth Willis, daughter of Thomas Landon.

don, of Middlesex County, Virginia.

A lordly and picturesque figure in the colony was Robert Carter. Rector of William and Mary's College, Speaker of the Burgesses and its Treasurer, President of the Council and Acting Governor of Virginia, as well as proprietor of the Northern Neck by purchase from the lord proprietor. He acquired great riches.

The most important member of the vestry of Christ Church parish. He built a church at his own expense on the site of the one erected by his father, one-fourth of which was reserved for the use of his family and dependents. As his name took precedence of all others in

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By Colonel John Carter's will, dated January 3, 1659, he left to his son Robert one thousand acres lying on a branch of Corotman, "his mother's hoop ring and crystal necklace." He provides for his education as follows: "He is to have a man or youth servant bought for him that hath been brought up in the Latin school, and that he (the servant) shall constantly tend upon him, not only to teach him his books, either in English or Latin, according to his capacity (for my will is that he shall learn both Latin and English and to write) and also to preserve him from harm and from doing evil." This was the educated white servant, who was as much the property of his master as the negro slave. Robert was between five and six years old when his father died.

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the vestry book, so he and his household entered the church before the rest of the congregation, who waited for his coach to arrive.

Christ Church, with its beautiful arched ceilings, its walls three feet thick and old-fashioned high pews, two of them fifteen feet square, one of which near the altar and opposite the pulpit was the Carter pew, still stands as a monument to him, "its solid masonry defying the elements and the insidious ravages of time." King Carter's tomb and those erected to his two wives having been injured by lightning are nearly destroyed. Bishop Meade, in his book, Old Churches and Families of Virginia, gives a translation of the inscription upon his tomb which is in Latin, as follows:

### "Here lies buried Robert Carter, Esq.

an Honourable man, who by noble endowments and pure morals gave luster to his gentle birth.

Rector of William and Mary, he sustained that institution in its most trying times. He was Speaker of the House of Burgesses and Treasurer under the serene Princes William, Anne, George I and II.

Elected by the House its Speaker six years and Governor of the Colony for more than a year, he upheld equally the regal dignity and the public freedom.

Possessed of ample wealth, blamelessly acquired, he built and endowed at his own expense this sacred edifice —a signal monument of his piety toward God. He furnished it richly.

Entertaining his friends kindly, he was neither a

prodigal nor a parsimonious host.

His first wife was Judith, daughter of John Armistead, Esq., his second Betty, a descendant of the noble family of Landons. By these wives he had many children, on whose education he spent large sums of money.

At length, full of honors and of years, when he had well performed all the duties of an exemplary life, he departed from this world on the 4th of August in the 69th year of his age. The unhappy lament their

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320

lost Comforter, the widows their lost protector, and the orphans their lost Father."

By his two wives he had fifteen children, ten of whom survived him.

It was as President of the Council in the interregnum between the administrations of two of the Royal Governors that Robert Carter in 1726–27 held the office of President and Commander-in-Chief of Virginia and administered the affairs of the Colony. During his incumbency as Governor in 1726 with the consent of the Council he appointed his oldest son Robert Carter, Jr., Naval Officer and Collector of Customs for the Rappahannock River.

As agent and receiver of quit rents for Lord Fairfax, Proprietor of the Northern Neck, the peninsula between the Rappahannock and the Potomac Rivers, a tract of twenty thousand acres, he exercised authority in six or more counties which added yearly to his power and importance. This may account for his title. Tradition has handed down an epitaph,

"Here lies Robin, but not Robin Hood, Here lies Robin that never was good, Here lies Robin that God has forsaken, Here lies Robin the Devil has taken,"

which is supposed to have been scribbled in chalk on his tombstone.

It seems that even in those early times the rich and powerful were maligned, yet there is no reason to suppose he was not just or benevolent, in fact Bishop Meade adduces proof from two letters of a Christian spirit of moderation and of decision.

The Gentleman's Magazine for November, 1732, contained a notice of King Carter in its list of prominent people who had died about that time. "Robert Carter, Esq., August 4, in Virginia. He was President of the Council and left among his children 300,000 acres of land, about 1000 negroes and 10,000 £."

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He left four sons, John of Corotman, Robert of Nomini, Charles of Cleve, Landon of Sabine Hall. George, of

Rippon Hall, predeceased him.

The Virginia Land Office shows a number of grants to him and his sons. Robert Carter, Jr., patented over forty thousand acres, irrespective of amounts taken up with others, which exceeded at one time fifty thousand acres. Landon Carter (my ancestor) took up grants amounting to sixty-eight thousand eight hundred acres, and once he and others patented forty-six thousand acres at one time. These figures convey some idea of the size of the estates held by this family.

John Carter, of Corotman, oldest son of King Carter, born in 1690, married in 1723, Elizabeth Hill, daughter of Colonel Edward Hill of "Shirly" on the James River which brought this estate into the Carter family. Shirley on the bank of the James River, was originally bought by Colonel Edward Hill in 1650, but was extensively altered in 1770 by Charles Carter, known as Secretary Carter. The garden was laid off by Mary Carter in 1800.

"Corotman" the seat of the early Carters was situated on the creek of that name, but in full view of the

Rappahannock River.

Nomini Hall, Westmoreland County, built in 1732 by Robert Carter, was located on the Nomini River where he had a mill and a bakery. It is said to have consisted of two thousand five hundred acres along the shores of the Rappahannock and the Potomac Rivers. He had a town house in Williamsburg known as the "Carter house."

Cleve, the home of Charles Carter, is in King George County, Virginia, a handsome picture of which may be found in Thomas Allen Glenn's book, *Some Old Colonial Mansions*.

Cleve is a beautiful old estate on the Rappahancock River, originally erected in 1720 by Colonel Charles Carter, but, having burned down, was rebuilt in 1800.

Landon Carter married Nancy, one of the daughters of Colonel William Byrd, of Westover, and lived at Sabine He left four sons, John of Corotman, Robert of Nomini, Charles of Cleve, Landon of Sabine Hall. George, of

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Landon Carter married Nancy, one of the daughters of Colonel William Byrd, of Westover, and lived at Sabine Hall, named after Horace's Villa, in Richmond County, Virginia, which he built in 1730, on a commanding site overlooking the Rappahannock River. He married three times, first Elizabeth Wormley, of Rosegill, in 1732; second, Maria Byrd, of Westover, and Colonel William Byrd wrote him in 1742 in reference to this marriage: "Sir, the letter you was so good as to send me, I read with some surprise, believing that the fever which was lately so strong upon you was not quite gone off. Nor was I altogether mistaken, it seems, because I perceive the Distemper continues, only you apply to a new Physician. Now, sir, I think it a great pity that an honest gentleman of so much worth and honor should be suffered to languish under this disorder any longer, and therefore I shall agree to contribute all I can to his recovery" (which Physician was his daughter).

There seems to have been some fun as well as sarcasm in this letter.

Third, he married Elizabeth Beale.

Oatlands in Loudon County was built by George Carter, son of Councillor Carter, of Nomini, in 1800, and contained five thousand acres.

Mrs. Rowland says: The Carters and their country seats are legion. There was John Carter of Sudley, William Champe Carter of Farley, Landon Carter of Woodlands, Charles Carter of Mt. Atlas, Carter of Carter's Grove, and Redlands in Albemarle County built by Robert Hill Carter.

In 1758 Elizabeth Wormley Carter, daughter of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, married into the Berkeley, family. Carter Berkeley, M. D., son of Nelson Berkeley, of Airwell, and Elizabeth Carter, built Edgewood in Hanover County, in 1790, where my father was born.

Mrs. Rowland, after mentioning many other descendants of Robert Carter, concludes: Thus the laureate wreath of the singer, the warrior's sword, the statesman's gown, the prelate's lawn sleeves, may all be found among the descendants of the Colonial "King Carter" of Virginia.

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